FREE THE 18!

THE MILITANT

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STRIKES REVEAL MOUNTING DISCONTENT

British Trotskyists Will Go On Trial This Month

Labor Unions Denounce Arrests As Workers Rally to Support Broad Defense Committee

By Ralph Graham

Arrested early in April on charges that they "did conspire, combine, confederate and agree together to act in furtherance of a strike declared by the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927 to be illegal," four members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, were brought before the City Police Court in the northeast England town of Newcastle on April 28 and ordered held for trial at the June assizes, according to reports of the case in the *Socialist Appeal*, official organ of the RCP.

The arrested Trotskyists are Jock Haston, general secretary of the RCP; Roy Tearse, national secretary of the Militant Workers' Federation; Ann Keen, northeast (London) district secretary of the party; and Heaton Lee, former mine organizer of South Africa who joined the Trotskyist movement in 1937.

JOCK HASTON

Defying all precedents of British court procedure, the defendants were held in prison without bail or public court hearing from the time of their arrest until May 9, when Haston and Tearse were admitted to bail of 400 pounds (about $1600) each on condition that both live in London until called for trial. As far is known, Ann Keen and Heaton Lee continue to be held without bail.

The arrests were preceded, accompanied by, and followed up with a rabid campaign against the British Trotskyists in Churchill's Tory newspapers and in the Stalinist press, in which the defendants were depicted as sinister underground conspirators, sustained by "foreign funds" and engaged in plots to sabotage British war production by inciting workers to strike.

This wild lynch campaign was criticized in the House of Commons by Aneurin Bevan, left-wing Labor M.P., who declared: **"These poor people had none of the benefits of any democratic code, and at the moment when they were in prison, before they had been tried, the newspapers were permitted, without any action being taken against them at all, to commit contempt of court to an extent which had never before been seen in Great Britain. They piled up public hatred, they vented indignation and they slandered and abused these people at the very moment when they were committed for trial. No action was taken by this venal government to protect them in any way. The whole thing is disgraceful. . ."**

LYNCH CAMPAIGN

The remarks of Aneurin Bevan were directed, in particular, at "Laborite" Ernest Bevin, His Majesty's Minister of Labor, and "Laborite" Herbert Morrison, His Majesty's Minister of Home Security, who initiated the campaign of persecution against the Trotskyists in a frantic effort to head off the growing militancy of the British workers by depriving them of the fighting leadership of the Trotskyists.

The British workers, correctly interpreting the attack on the Trotskyists as the spearhead of an offensive against the entire labor movement, are springing to the defense of the arrested four. Pressed by the ranks, Labor Party and Independent Labor Party leaders have joined in a broad national defense committee, and the formation of local committees throughout the country is well under way. Those who have already joined the national defense committee include:

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Aneurin Bevan, left-wing Labor M.P; James Maxton, M.P. of the Independent Labor Party; John McGovern, M.P. of the Independent Labor Party; Rhys Davies, M.P; S. Silverman, M.P; Rev. Sorenson, M.P; W. G. Cove, M.P; Fenner Brockway, Independent Labor Party; Walter Padler, Independent Labor Party; V. Sastry, Federation of Indian Associations; Don McGregor,

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Roosevelt Order Paves Way For Forced Labor

Having failed to gain legislative sanction for labor conscription, the Roosevelt administration has resorted to administrative decree, to freeze workers to their jobs at wages frozen under the Little Steel formula. Orders have been issued by the War Manpower Commission, to be put into effect by July 1, placing all male workers over the age of 17 under the control of the Government's United States Employment Service.

Under the McNutt plan workers would be obligated to apply at the USES for employment and would then be referred to jobs according to a "priority" scheme which involves shifting workers from "non-essential"to "essential" industries and from one area to another. Asked what would happen if workers refused to take jobs to which they have been referred, McNutt replied that the answer was "apparent in the fact that State laws provided that such persons might be deprived of unemployment compensation benefits if they refused 'suitable employment.'" (N. Y. Times—June 3).

With control of employment concentrated in the hands of the USES a worker can be deprived of livelihood by being placed on a USES blacklist for refusing to take a job paying less wages in his own or another area. By refusing to issue certificates of availability workers can be kept frozen to their jobs and in the event of a strike workers who refused to accept jobs as strikebreakers would be subject to the sanctions inherent in the McNutt plan. In commenting on the plan, Representative William J. Miller of Connecticut, said: "No wonder Mr. McNutt refused to ask for passage of a national service act. He does not need such a law if he can get away with present practices." James L. McDevitt, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor (AFL) added: "The new program had everything that a labor draft called for."

Quick to recognize the union busting implications of the McNutt plan, the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor voiced a vigorous protest against the new WMC order and announced that it would demand that the union hiring halls continue to serve as employment centers for union workers. The plan is part of the current drive of Big Business for the return of the open shop. Placing full control over labor employment in the hands of the USES would mean driving a wedge into the closed shop by undermining union control over hiring where closed shop contracts exist. **That has been one of the primary aims of the labor draft proposals—an aim which the administration now hopes to achieve by administrative edict thus by-passing the obstacles confronting the adoption of a forced labor law. Small wonder then to find Senator Austin, co-author of the vicious Austin-Wadsworth national**

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Champions of 'Free Enterprise' at Work

Workers Angered Against Roosevelt Arbitration Set-up

WLB Is Graveyard of Labor Grievances

By C. Thomas

An examination of the strike statistics released last month by the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals that the number of strikes has increased each year since Pearl Harbor. Covering the first three months of each of the three war years, the study shows that the number of new strikes has been progressively greater for each period. The number of new strikes occurring in the first quarter of 1942 was 571, for the same period in 1943 it was 643 and 1,020 or almost equal to the total of the two previous years, for 1944. The figures show a similar progression in the number of workers involved in new strikes. In the first three months of 1942 there were 154,343 workers involved in new strikes; in the first quarter of 1943 there were 203,998, and for the first three months of 1944 the figure given is 340,000.

Computing the number of strikes for the first three months of this year, the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that there were 330 new strikes in both January and February and 360 in March, compared with the 1943 figure of 195 in January, 200 in February and 248 in March. While no statistics are yet available for the months of April and May of this year, press reports indicate that the figure for each of the first two months of the second quarter of 1944 will top those of the preceding peak of 360 reported for March. The curve of the strike movement, continuing as it does, its upward swing on the eve of the invasion, is indicative of the increasing discontent of the workers and their growing disillusionment with the compulsory arbitration machinery of the Roosevelt administration.

NERVE CENTER

The nerve center of this compulsory arbitration structure is the National WLB. When the WLB was established the "labor statesmen" committed the unions to an unconditional no-strike pledge without even bothering to consult the union membership. The illusion was fostered that wage disputes and grievances would be given prompt consideration and quick decision. This illusion was largely dispelled when thousands of cases were interred

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UTSE-CIO Urges Release Of The 18

Gabriel De Angelis, Financial Secretary of Brewster Local 365 UAW-CIO and member of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, discussed on Radio Station WEVD on June 1st the case of the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders, and announced that a public mass meeting will be held on June 8 in the Crystal Ball Room of the Hotel Diplomat to demand repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act and freedom of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners. Prominent labor and liberal figures, including Thomas De Lorenzo, George Baldanzi, Samuel Wolchok, Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin will address the mass meeting.

CIO UNION RESOLUTION

After a heated debate on the convention floor of the United Transport Service Employees-CIO at their International Convention in Chicago on May 19, a resolution condemning the unjust imprisonment of 18 Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, was passed after a roll-call vote 51 to 15. The resolution stated:

WHEREAS: Eighteen members of the Minneapolis Motor Transport and Industrial Workers Union Local 544-CIO are now serving twelve and sixteen month sentences in federal penitentiaries, and

WHEREAS: Our primary interest in this case deals with the question of civil liberties and not the consideration of any political point of view which may be involved, and

WHEREAS: These trade unionists have been convicted solely because of their beliefs and their activities on behalf of labor, and

WHEREAS: These eighteen are the first to be convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, the first peace-time statute since 1798 to make the mere expression of opinion a Federal crime, and

WHEREAS: This vicious statute has been condemned by leading civil liberties and labor organizations as contrary to every principle of democracy, and

WHEREAS: The U. S. Supreme Court has, in an unprecedented action, three times refused to review the convictions of the Minneapolis defendants, even though the Smith "Gag" Act clearly violates the constitutional rights of free speech and free press, and

WHEREAS: The imprisonment of the 18 and the upholding of the Smith "Gag" Act sets a dangerous precedent which can be used against the democratic rights of other trade unionists and working class political parties, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we appeal to the President of the United States to grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, and be it further

RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C., to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, and to the press.

LABOR PROTESTS

Swelling the chorus of labor protests against the imprisonments, similar resolutions were recently passed by UAW-CIO Lincoln Local 900, Detroit, Transportation Unit, UAW-CIO Ford Local 600, Detroit, UAW-CIO Local 238, Detroit, Pile Drivers, Bridge, Wharf and Dock Builders Local 34, San Francisco, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Rochester Lodge No. 99, Rochester, N. Y., Textile Workers Union of America-CIO, Local 71, San Francisco, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Lodge No. 560, Laureldale, Pa., International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America Local 4, Buffalo, N. Y., Millinery Workers Union-AFL, Local 40, San Francisco, Cal., United

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Seaman Nails Bridges

Editor:

You will probably be interested in the reaction of the longshoremen to the latest Bridges war and post-war no-strike policy. We were in the ship's mess hall drinking coffee with some longshoremen and talking waterfront unionism with them. One fellow volunteered: "You know, I have gone down the line with Harry (Bridges) up until now, but this is too much. I can't see where we are going to get anything from the bosses without fighting for it like we always have." The other four fellows had apparently reached the same conclusions before this, and nodded their heads in agreement. Not one of the five even tried to defend Bridges' policy.

It looks as if Bridges has some rough sailing ahead.

A Seaman
San Francisco

Bridges And The Stalinists --Permanent Strikebreakers

By Harvey Brown

A number of prominent officials of the CIO have taken issue with the position taken by Harry Bridges, notorious Stalinist stooge, that "the strike weapon is overboard not only for the duration but after the war." The Bridges statement, part of a double-barrel blast against the labor movement, stigmatized workers on strike as guilty of "treason against the Nation." Attacking the Bridges assertion as "ridiculous" R. J. Thomas, president of the powerful United Auto Workers Union, said:

"The idea that labor should 'indefinitely' surrender its right to strike . . . is a ridiculous, defeatist proposal. The labor movement cannot possibly survive if it throws away indefinitely its most effective weapon." In contra-distinction to Bridges, Thomas advocates that labor throw away "its most effective weapon" only "for the duration"—a period which no one yet has clearly defined!

In commenting on the Bridges statement, Milton Murray, president of the CIO Newspaper Guild remarked: "I would like to assure the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce that Harry Bridges does not speak for American labor nor any significant fraction of it." George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the Textile Workers Union, ridiculed the proposal by declaring that "the strike weapon is fundamental to the labor movement and any one who wants to surrender that weapon also presupposes that the industrialists in this country, including Sewell Avery, are now going to welcome unions with open arms—which is, of course, crazy."

Samuel Wolchok, head of the union which led the Montgomery Ward strike, asserted: "I can think of nothing more un-American than the suggestion that workers forego the rights for which they had fought so hard. I don't think Bridges represents labor opinion." All of the officials quoted are members of the National Executive Board of the CIO and close collaborators of Philip Murray. They undoubtedly express the reaction of the dominant section of the top lead-

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NEW AUTO-LITE UNION HEADS PROVE NO BETTER THAN OLD

By M. Ingersoll

TOLEDO, O.—It is well for the workers of the Auto-Lite Plant to review the status of their union organization at the present time, in view of the fact that the Executive Committee is now once more going through the motions of obtaining a new union contract.

The Auto-Lite workers laid the foundation for the UAW in the great 1934 strike. At that time under a militant leadership, the Auto-Lite workers heroically battled the company and the Ohio National Guard. They broke the "open shop," laid the foundation for unionism in Toledo, and improved conditions throughout the Auto-Lite plants. Auto-Lite workers should bear in mind the events of 1934 and their leadership of those days, as they review the record of their present leadership.

Prior to the last UAW convention, the Auto-Lite Unit was dominated by leaders who belonged to the Addes-Frankensteen caucus. Under this leadership, the workers found their conditions steadily getting worse; they found it impossible to settle any grievances; the workers were disarmed in the face of company provocations.

The fact that the Addes-Frankensteen group was in control of this unit of Local 12, was a thorn in the side of the Reuther faction which controlled the local. Prior to the last convention, the Gosser machine started a "smear" campaign against the Auto-Lite committee. It was not difficult for Gosser to discredit the already discredited committee. He brought out all of the essential facts: that the committee was in collusion with the company; that the committee did nothing about the grievances of the workers; and that the members of the committee sold their votes to Addes at the last UAW convention for $200 apiece.

In the last election of the Auto-Lite Unit, Gosser's hand-picked chairman and five of his endorsed candidates were elected. The rest of the committee pledged their 100 percent cooperation to the newly elected chairman. Thus today, we have not an Addes-Frankensteen committee but a Gosser-Reuther committee, though a majority of the fifteen committeemen are the vote-sellers against whom Gosser tilted so heroically before the last election.

As the time for the Convention draws nearer, there are indications that there may be a division of the committee along the old lines. This will not mean that either faction is interested in doing anything for the Auto-Lite workers. It will not mean that they want to go to the conven-

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WLB And Its Role Flayed By Official Of Machinists Union In San Francisco

By R. Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, June, 1—"It is the purpose of the War Labor Board to try to break up the labor movement.

"We are the strongest union in the area and some of the employers would like to get us. If they could, they would go right down the line against the other unions."

These were some of the significant statements made by Edward F. Dillon, Business agent of Machinists Lodge 68 of the International Association of Machinists, in an interview today. For the past two months the daily press has carried a series of news items on a "dispute" between the lodge and the WLB. The WLB has threatened to refer the case to the president for possible "seizure" of the west coast machine shops. Under attack is the decision of the union to establish a 48 hour work week for its members. Charges of "impeding the war production" and "violation of the no strike pledge" have been hurled at the men and their leaders.

Dillon sat at his desk in the union office. Of medium height, stocky build, hair streaked with gray, sharp gray eyes behind glasses, he presented the union's position in simple, forceful style.

"The best way to explain it is to begin with the facts of the case. Wages are not involved in this dispute. We have had contracts with the employers since 1937. They terminated April 1. We feel that we have no job security without a contract and consequently want one. We negotiated with the employers and were in accord when outside influences stepped in and prevailed upon the employers to repudiate the agreement.

"After eleven meetings, over a period of four weeks, and after we had reached an agreement, we came back one day and found a new committee of the employers which repudiated the committee we had been dealing with.

"The outside influences are the government agencies. They came in at the solicitation of four or five employers who are against signing agreements.

"After the old agreement expired on April 1 we continued negotiating until April 17. The Lodge membership then decided that pending the arrival of a new agreement, the members would work 48 hours a week; 8 hours a day, 6 days a week. This decision is in accord with war manpower regulations and our old agreement.

"We presented to the employers a written stipulation which would continue the terms of the old contract. They refused. We then stated that we would

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

David Dubinsky, President of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, declared before his organization's convention meeting in Boston last week that he supports the CIO Political Action Committee and its program in every state of the Union but New York. "We have no quarrel with the CIO Political Action Committee as such," he explained. "Our quarrel was with the way the committee allied itself with the Communists in New York. On this we fought them and will continue to fight them in New York."

The Dubinsky-Social Democratic clique formerly at the head of New York's American Labor Party once more reveals its political bankruptcy.

Dubinsky cannot, of course, find a programmatic difference between the New York CIO Committee and ALP which he opposes, and the CIO Political Action Committee "as such" which he supports, or, for that matter, his own newly-delivered baby, the New York Liberal Party. They are all handing a signed blank check to Roosevelt, vying for recognition as the most unqualified supporters of the Roosevelt war program, actively sabotaging genuine independent labor politics and serving as ward-heelers in labor's camp for the capitalist politicians.

* * *

When it is to the disadvantage of labor, the government agencies are all for strict adherence to legality and the letter of the law. When, however, the law in rare cases operates to the advantage of the workers, then Roosevelt's agents suddenly discover the virtues of supra-legal considerations.

In ordering the 1900 strikers of the Detroit Parke, Davis and Co. drug plant to return to work last week, officials of the WLB and WPB blandly brushed aside the fact that the strike was called in strict accord with the letter of the Smith-Connally Act. The strikers, members of the CIO United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, had complied with all the complicated procedure prescribed by the law. Not even a battery of Philadelphia lawyers could find a legal flaw in the union's conduct.

But George Taylor, WPB vice-chairman, who was trying to pressure the strikers back to work, told them "there is something bigger than the legal aspects of this case," to whit, their "moral obligations" to uphold the CIO leadership's no-strike pledge.

Of course, when workers go on strike in disregard of legalistic mumbo-jumbo, then the government agencies don't recognize "something bigger than the legal aspects of the case."

* * *

All the hullabaloo about Roosevelt's seizure of the Montgomery Ward plant in Chicago to halt the strike has now boiled down to the one primary fact, so far as the workers are concerned, that Sewell L. Avery is still refusing to grant them any of their demands which are not already established by law or the company's own policies.

Spotlight, organ of Local 20, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes, union of the Chicago Ward Workers, reports on the results of negotiations so far with the Ward management. As it says, "the report speaks for itself." Of 17 basic demands, all commonly accepted in union contracts, the company has agreed to grant just three, the 40 hour week and establishment of grievance machinery as required by law, and no loss of seniority when a worker is transferred by the company.

The company has flatly denied such decisive demands as seniority, arbitration of disputes, time-and-a-half for overtime, a union security clause, etc.. Spotlight understandably complains: "Is this Montgomery Ward's idea of collective bargaining in good faith?"

Such is the end-product of intervention in the Ward strike by the "friend of labor" in the White House.

* * *

The growing militant temper of the organized workers was reflected last week in the strike of 3,500 St. Louis Public Service Company employes who defied a WLB back-to-work ultimatum and maintained a shut-down of all city transportation for 37 hours, until the union members voted to return to work pending further arbitration of their demands by a WLB panel.

During the course of the strike, the WLB regional Chairman Paul Nachtman was roundly booed by a strikers' mass meeting after he attempted to order them back to work in a threatening manner. They also shouted defiance of their union leaders, officials of the AFL Amalgamated Street Car, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes, who urged them to end their walkout in compliance with Nachtman's demand. The strikers voted with their feet against a return to work by demonstratively filing from the meeting and leaving the government and union officials to address an empty hall.

The defiance of Nachtman came after he declared: "Since you will not listen to me as chairman of the WLB in Kansas City, I hereby order you in the name of the United State Government to return to your jobs immediately."

There is no record that any WLB official ever talked "tough" like this to Sewell L. Avery during the months and years of his numerous refusals to comply with WLB directives.

* * *

The International Typographical Union has voted to reaffiliate with the AFL, after several years' existence as an independent union. A referendum vote of the ITU membership gave a majority for reaffiliation. The ITU left the AFL after it was suspended for refusing to pay the AFL's special per capita tax for a war chest to fight the CIO.

* * *

The strike of 500 AFL textile workers at the Continental Diamond Fibre Manufacturing Co., Bridgeport, Pa., because of the company's discriminatory policy against Negro workers, has ended in a victory for the union.

The company has agreed to the union's demands for equal pay and improved sanitary conditions for Negro workers and employment of Negro women.

This strike, which lasted for three weeks, has been one of the finest examples of working class solidarity. The sole issue of the strike was the anti-Negro policies of the company. Although the members of Local 58 are overwhelmingly white, they struck when the company refused to upgrade Negro workers in accordance with their seniority and would not permit them to work beside the white workers.

Reports from our agents show that they realize the importance of placing The Militant on newsstands and getting renewals of expired subscriptions.

Boston: "We have placed The Militant and the Negro pamphlets in about a half-dozen stores in the Negro district."

Toledo: "The Militant can now be purchased at the Athletic Sports Center. This is a Negro place and the paper and pamphlet, "Struggle for Negro Equality," are displayed in the front window, also the pamphlets on the trial. Later on the F. I. will be placed there. This place is on the borderline of the Negro and white neighborhood just a few blocks from the main downtown section. We look for results from this."

San Francisco: "We're still going after the renewals. The greatest difficulty is finding the people at home.

St. Paul: "We hope to send in more six-month subs soon. We're also working on renewals at the same time."

* * *

Our Detroit agent reports the following incidents and experiences which occurred during distributions of The Militant and contact work:

"At a recent distribution a worker took a subscription and gave a contribution to the paper, saying he realized the necessity for funds. He also said he was willing at any time to contribute to labor's best paper.

"Enclosed is a sub card obtained at a CIO meeting tonight, mainly because some Stalinists opposed the distribution of our paper, whereupon our distributor was forced to give them a good debate and that brought the request for the sub.

"We are getting swell comments on the paper. One contact visited said it is the only paper worth while reading. In the course of the discussion he is all for the paper. He attended one of our meetings and I think will attend our new class on Socialism."

3,634 New 'Militant' Subscribers Obtained; Four Weeks Still To Go

The number of subscriptions obtained by the branches this week raises our total NEW READER list 634 above the 3,000 quota set in the **Militant Subscription Campaign.** If this high rate is maintained during the four remaining weeks of the campaign, the results will far exceed even our own expectations.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Buffalo still leads nationally with 458 percent.

Texas moved from last place on the scoreboard to sixth.

New York Local sold 162 subs during the week; Chicago, 86; Detroit, 60.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

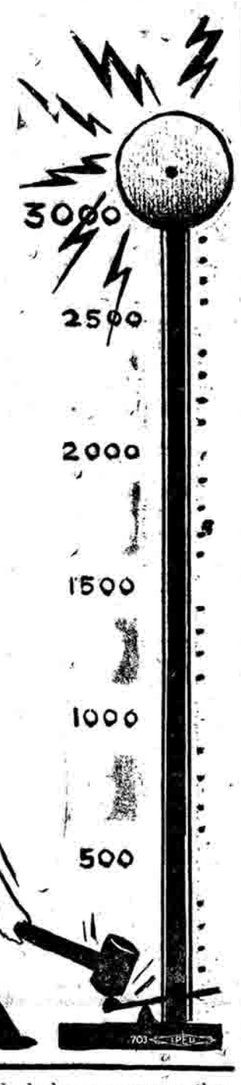
New York Local: "In April the New York Local secured 389 subs. In May, when our door-to-door campaign really got underway, we pushed our monthly total to 780. The branch totals for the month of May were:

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Brooklyn	100	347	347
West Side	175	420	240
East Side	175	314	179
Queens	50	79	158
	500	1160	232

"Individual high scorers are: Eloise Black 46, Justine Lang 44, Doris Hill 43.

"Competition among branches and among comrades is keen. Everybody is participating, going out, many of them not only on the regular branch mobilizations but during the week too. It is this active participation by the whole membership that has made the tripling of our quota, the achieving of 1500 subs, a realizable goal.

"1500 new readers for **The Militant** in New York City will be a tremendous achievement in broadening our influence in the working class which will bring returns in every sphere of party activity."



Akron: "We have met with considerable success in our coverage of the Negro project here. We've covered about half the houses and have sold 14 or 15 subs. Yesterday two of us went out and sold 6 subs in about one half hour. One of these was sold to a fellow from Detroit who said that he had seen our paper there. Out of every four houses contacted, one sale results. You may count on the Akron Branch exceeding its quota by the middle of June."

Chicago: "Please send us immediately 75 more sub cards. We are a little late in getting our subs in but don't count us out of the running."

St. Paul: "I am enclosing 5 more subs. These were also obtained in an hour of door-to-dooring by another comrade and me. If not for the voracious mosquitoes, we could have sold more, I'm sure."

New Haven: "As for the sale of special subs, I obtained most of them through house-to-house canvassing, especially in the Negro district. Another comrade is going with me on Friday night to sell subs. And don't worry, we'll at least sell 25 subs before the end of the drive."

Texas: "Enclosed are 3-month subs. We hope to add to our growing sub list shortly. It sure is encouraging."

Boston: "One of the branch crews got 12 subs in one day, our local record to date. So far, Boston has 142 subs. We hope to hit 200."

Detroit: "G. got most of her subs from the shop she works in. She is well known as a militant and all she had to do was hand the card to the people and they subscribed. However, many of these workers are already acquainted with the **Militant** through previous distributions. S. has a different technique. He approaches the people without previous distribution, tells them it is a labor paper in the interests of labor, that it fights against discrimination and shows them the Negro Struggle column. He also takes along the pamphlet, 'Socialism on Trial,' and shows them the party program. That works swell. S. has 102 subs; G. has 88."

* * *

Four weeks to go. Let's finish with every branch at least 100%.

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Buffalo	50	229	458
Newark	80	200	250
Toledo	30	72	240
New York	500	1189	237
Reading	30	59	196
Texas	10	17	170
Philadelphia	30	50	166
Allentown	15	23	153
Boston	100	145	145
Detroit	300	443	145
Seattle	150	183	122
St. Paul	50	58	116
San Francisco	150	171	114
Chicago	200	186	93
Youngstown	50	37	74
Minneapolis	200	135	67
Bayonne	50	33	66
Akron	40	25	62
Milwaukee	15	9	60
Los Angeles	400	229	57
Cleveland	50	26	52
New Haven	25	11	44
St. Louis	20	8	40
San Diego	50	18	36
Flint	15	3	20
Quakertown	10	2	20
Members-at-Large, Friends	355	73	20
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
TOTAL	3,000	3,634	121

DECREE PAVES WAY FOR FORCED LABOR

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service act, hailing the McNutt plan as a step in the right direction.

Under the plan, Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, will be installed in a position of virtual dictatorship over the American workers, deriving his authority from the wartime powers granted Roosevelt. The *N. Y. Times* (June 3) makes this plain when it states: "The WMC is relying for authority on President Roosevelt's Executive Order of Dec. 5, 1942, revamping the commission and instructing the WMC chairman to take all 'lawful and appropriate' steps necessary to assure that all hiring and recruitment of workers for jobs in any plants, facilities, occupation or areas designated by the chairman shall be conducted solely through the United States Employment Service or under arrangements he approves." It was under this sweeping Executive Order that McNutt is attempting to accomplish what Roosevelt failed to do when in his annual message to Congress he proposed the adoption of a forced labor law.

Labor spokesmen scoff at the flimsy pretext that the McNutt plan is intended to deal with the problem of alleged "acute manpower shortages" in a few industries on the WMC "critical list." They point out the obvious discrepancy between the means, the establishment of rigid control over 40,000,000 workers, in order to achieve the end, of supplying about 100,000 men to those industries on the "critical list." It is like using a steamshovel to lift a blade of grass! Whatever manpower shortage exists in the so-called critical industries is by virtue of unfavorable wages and working conditions. Such industries as lumber, foundries, bearings, etc., could easily be removed from the critical list by the granting of a wage increase, improving working conditions, providing adequate housing, etc.

The crux of the McNutt plan, lies precisely in the fact that the administration has no intention of granting any concessions, as a means of solving the "manpower" problem. Roosevelt demonstratively abandoned the "voluntary" method of dealing with labor for outright compulsion when, in his sharp swing to reaction after the threatened railway strike, he came forward for the first time with the proposal for labor conscription. Like the forced labor proposal, the McNutt plan is a blow aimed at the organized labor movement. Every union militant is bound to recognize this danger and take the lead in protesting the imposition of the Roosevelt-McNutt "modified" version of forced labor.

NEW AUTO-LITE UNION HEADS PROVE NO BETTER THAN OLD

(Continued from page 1)

tion to vote for a program that will advance the interests of the Auto-Lite workers. It will only be a conflict of two groups of aspirants for jobs. Auto-Lite workers can believe both factions when they denounce each other. Many Auto-Lite workers are coming to the conclusion that it makes no difference as far as their welfare is concerned, whether their union committee is controlled by Addes-Guncheon or by Reuther-Gosser.

A year ago the Reuther faction put up a big fight against the piecework system at a time when the Addes faction was proposing its extension. In the Auto-Lite plant the piecework speedup system exists in full force and neither faction makes an issue of it. Today, grievances remain unsettled while stewards take up collections and studiously avoid workers with grievances. Discrimination against Negro workers exists in all Local 12 units; in spite of the alleged manpower shortage, skilled Negro workers pull chips, and push brooms between idle machines.

When the workers get fed up with these intolerable conditions, and stoppages take place, the leaders of the union rush to put them back to work and Gosser makes them a "foxhole" speech. When the Negroes ask for equal opportunities for jobs, and when workers ask for settlement of their grievances they are stamped as rioters, saboteurs, and fifth-columnists.

The Auto-Lite workers are getting fed up with the policies of their leadership. At the present time when the Auto-Lite Committee is negotiating a new contract, the workers should insist that the following provisions be written into their agreement with the Auto-Lite company:

(1)—Abolition of the piecework-speedup system.

(2)—Equal pay for equal work for women.

(3)—No discrimination in upgrading to any job because of race, color or nationality.

(4)—Two weeks vacation with pay for every worker employed 6 months or over.

(5)—The escalator clause—the rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

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Labor Discontent Shown By Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

in the files of the WLB, each case remaining buried for such extended periods that the Board earned for itself the title: Graveyard of Grievances!

To allay the dissatisfaction that developed over the funeral pace of WLB procedure, the Board, under prodding of its labor representatives, prescribed as a remedy the establishment of Regional Boards to expedite the handling of grievances.

Decisions of the Regional Boards are submitted to the National Board for approval. Since the Regional Boards were established approximately 18 months ago, experience has shown that this device has merely served to further complicate procedure and further prolong the interminable delay of disputes certified to the WLB. Another primary source of irritation has been the abandonment by the Board of all pretense of being a quasi-judicial body able to judge wage disputes on their merits and its emergence as an enforcement agency rigidly applying the Little Steel formula under Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" policies. These are some of the factors which, along with the continued rise in the cost of living, higher taxes, a knowledge that corporate profits have soared to ever higher levels, the increasing arrogance of the employers, etc., have impelled the workers to resort with greater frequency to their most effective economic weapon, the strike.

VARIED EXPERIENCE

An examination of the more recent strikes provides an illustration of the rich and varied experiences which are penetrating the consciousness of the American working class. The role of the government as a strikebreaking agency in the service of the employers was no more glaringly revealed than in the Montgomery Ward dispute.

The company refused to extend the union contract upon its expiration contending that the union no longer represented a majority of its employes. Capitulating to the company, the WLB directed Sewell Avery to extend the contract pending a determination of the question of representation by the NLRB. Avery refused to comply, refused to bargain with the union, ignored the grievance machinery, and continued to victimize known union militants.

The WLB whined and complained about Avery's "attitude" and continued to stew in its own juice, as it always does when confronted with the defiance of an employer, until the workers were forced to take independent action to defend the existence of their union. It wasn't until the union called the strike, which gained the sympathy and support of decisive sections of the labor movement and gave every indication of being successful, that Roosevelt dashed in — to break the strike. The plant was "seized," the workers herded back to their jobs, an NLRB election was held and the plant was returned to the company even before the results of the election were known. In a recent hearing before the WLB the president of the union bitterly complained that now that the strike was broken, the government agencies are "marking time beautifully," while Avery proceeds to cut the union to pieces.

ILLUSIONS DISPELLED

It is true that the union officials and many of the workers originally hailed the Montgomery Ward "seizure" as a victory for the union. Their illusions were quickly dispelled. In their appearance before the WLB, the union officials, voicing the attitude of their membership, said that if Avery remained adamant in his refusal to grant the union a contract, "we will not be responsible for another strike. This time we will not return. We have a way of handling Montgomery Ward." The lesson of the Montgomery Ward dispute has not been lost on the ranks of labor.

As an aftermath of the Montgomery Ward strike the NLRB now proposes to grant all employers the same privilege given Avery to challenge the collective bargaining rights of the union upon the expiration of a union contract. The NLRB seeks to vie with the WLB and Roosevelt's farcical seizures, as a strikebreaking agency in the service of the employers. The recent strike involving over 3000 formen in the Detroit area developed after the WLB had kicked the demands of the foremen around for over a year because of an NLRB decision that supervisory employes (foremen) were not to be considered an appropriate bargaining unit and did not come under the provisions of the Wagner Act. The campaign against the foremen culminated in a violent government-employer attack when WLB enlisted the aid of General Arnold in blasting the foremen back to their jobs. The only sympathy and support the foremen received was from the organized labor movement — primarily the UAW rank and file.

OBJECT LESSON

The strike of the chemical workers at the Parke-Davis plant in Detroit provided another object lesson for the workers. This was a "legal" strike, called in accordance with the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act. Nevertheless, chairman Davis of the WLB threatened to impose drastic sanctions on the union, unless the workers returned to their jobs. Even though the strike was "legal," Davis contended that the union was obligated to a strict observance of Labor's no-strike pledge! According to Davis: You're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't. If a union succeeds in getting over the hurdle of the Smith-Connally Act—there is the no-strike pledge to keep the workers under the thumb of the boss.

As the strikebreaking role of the government becomes more apparent the resistance of the workers increases. The strike of the Woodworkers in the Pacific Northwest is indicative of this trend. This strike developed after a WLB run-around that lasted 16 months and which resulted in a flat rejection of the wage demands of the workers. It was a spontaneous demonstration of the mounting discontent aimed directly at the wage freezing policy of the government and the agents on the WLB who enforce that policy.

An interesting sidelight is provided by the lumber barons, enriched by a huge bonanza of war profits, pleading with Roosevelt to "seize" their plants. As we see, the dollar patriots are not at all deceived by the spurious outcry over the "seizure" of Montgomery Ward.

DETROIT AREA

While the recent strike wave has manifested itself in all parts of the country, the center of unrest has been in the highly industrialized Detroit area. The arrogance of the auto tycoons has grown in direct proportion to the capitulatory policy of the union bureaucrats. The resistance of the union militants to the deliberate provocation of the corporations has resulted in a series of "unauthorized" strikes in which the union bureaucrats have invoked the unconditional no-strike pledge as a pretext to join the corporations in crushing the resistance of the workers. A number of powerful UAW locals, having witnessed the progressive deterioration of union conditions in the industry, have gone on record demanding the revocation of the no-strike pledge. This demand has been met with increasing repressions against those members and locals who resist the union busting drive of the corporations.

The discontent of the workers, as recorded in the strike statistics released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, gives rise to a growing conflict with the employers, the government and the union bureaucrats. The workers are learning that dependence on labor's "friend" in the White House and his elaborate labor relations machinery brings only frustration, victimization and defeat.

They are groping toward the road of independent action on the economic and political fields. Disoriented by the policies of the servile labor lackeys the workers are learning the hard way—but they are learning. Behind the bare strike statistics are the cumulative lessons of years of deception, treachery and betrayal. The numerical increase in the number of strikes presages a qualitative change in the mood of the workers. The next major labor crisis will undoubtedly reveal features characteristic of the advancing stage of the developing class consciousness of the American working class.

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Brewster "Sit-In" Gave Warning To American Workers That They Must Prepare To Resist Mass Unemployment

By Art Preis

American labor was dramatically aroused last week by the militant sit-in demonstration of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation workers, who refused for two days to vacate the company's plants at Long Island City, N. Y., and Johnsville, Pa., when the Navy Department abruptly terminated its contract and forced the mass lay-off on three days' notice of the bulk of 13,500 Brewster employes.

This fighting action of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 365, whose members, in accordance with the militant traditions of the local, would not take their dismissal lying down, focused a glaring spotlight on the lengths Wall Street and the government are prepared to go in order to smash militant unionism and gave a sharp warning to the American workers of the fate in store for them under the "post-war plan" of Big Business.

While the Roosevelt administration is demanding labor conscription on the pretext of a labor "shortage" and military spokesmen issue scarehead statements about plane losses due to strikes, the action of the Brewster workers has flashed across the nation's headlines the real situation, contradicting all the anti-labor claims of the government.

From the first announcement of the contract termination and impending lay-offs, it was clear that this was the climactic move in a three-year drive of the big aircraft corporations, acting through the Navy Department, to smash the union local whose militant policies have won the highest wages and best conditions in the industry and to secure control by the monopolies of one of the few remaining independent aircraft companies.

UNION-BUSTING MOVE

The Brewster workers immediately recognized the union-busting character of the whole move. They determined to defend their union and conditions and to use their own situation as an example and warning to the rest of labor so that the workers might be prepared to resist similar lay-offs everywhere when the corporations feel they are no longer able to squeeze war profits from them.

When it became clear that the government would make no provisions for the workers to continue on the job at Brewster, a meeting of some thirty local leaders was held. They agreed to organize a mass resistance to the firings. Plans and preparations were made for the workers to occupy the plants. These plans were kept quiet until just before the action was to begin. Early on Monday morning, the key union leaders met for final instructions. They in turn informed all the shop stewards of the contemplated action. The shop stewards then told the workers who reported for work as the union had instructed them to do. The proposal for a "sit-in" was hailed almost unanimously.

Instead of turning in their badges, the workers proceeded to their benches and machines in preparation for work. They were informed that anyone turning in his badge, and breaking the solid front of the union action would have his union card lifted. Only a handful broke ranks. The overwhelming majority were prepared to "sit-in" for whatever number of days was necessary to force the government to provide the means for continued employment at Brewster. The workers did not even have the opportunity in advance of informing their families they would not be home.

Spirits were high and the fighting morale was at a peak. Preparations proceeded thruout the day for a long seige. Stores of food, enough for five days, were quickly brought into the main plant in Long Island City, were 8,500 workers held the fort. Blankets were procured. Radios and musical instruments for an impromptu band were obtained, providing music, entertainment and news to help pass the long hours. All sorts of games were secured and the workers made themselves "at home."

DISCIPLINE MAINTAINED

During the evening, there were dances and meetings. Complete order and discipline were maintained. The buildings were kept immaculately clean. All equipment was carefully protected from damage. No disorderly conduct of any kind was tolerated. Many of the tactical lessons learned from the famous sit-down strikes of 1937 were applied.

Outside the plant a picket line was maintained, carrying appropriate banners. "Freedom From Want" one banner proclaimed sarcastically, and another, "Is This Post-War Conversion?" One woman worker carried the sign, "Is This What My Husband Is Fighting For?" Similar sentiments and slogans were displayed on large banners draping the balconies on each floor over the plant entrance. "We're Sitting Tight, We Want Work!" and "We've got the tools, We've got the ability, We've got the experience, We've got the will. But We Ain't Got The Work!" One prominently displayed banner read: "D-Dismissal Day for Brewster Workers."

During the first day of the sit-in, a delegation of some 300 Brewster veterans of both World Wars, including several who had been crippled in combat, marched in a body to the City Hall in an attempt to enlist the aid of Mayor LaGuardia to keep the plant running. His Honor, the so-called "Little Flower," refused even to see them, sending out word he was "too busy." He is not, however, "too busy" to see any two-bit ward heeler who can promise to line up for him a few votes.

OTHER JOBS

The Navy, War Manpower Commission and other government officials attempted to combat the propaganda effect of the "sit-in" and break it up by claiming the Brewster workers could get jobs quickly at other plants. Representatives of various low wage industries appeared at the plant to make their miserable offers.

But the Brewster workers, who have been earning wages averaging $1.14 an hour, refused to have their union broken and scattered in order to take jobs at 60 and 70 cents an hours, or to start all over at beginner's and apprentice wages at other aircraft plants where average wages are 10 to 30 cents an hour lower than at Brewster.

The cold-blooded attitude of the Navy was summed up in the statement of Ralph Bard, an assistant secretary of the Navy, who was quoted as declaring that "the workers at Brewster could pick up and go to other areas just as a soldier does."

At the same time, the Navy gave as its excuse for ending its Brewster contract, reasons of "economy," claiming that the cost of production per plane at Brewster was higher than at Goodyear and Chance-Vought where Corsair fighters are also produced. The Navy Department issued figures claiming Goodyear produced the plane for $57,000, Chance-Vought for $63,000 and Brewster for $72,000. **Union officials immediately challenged the Navy's assertions by pointing out that Brewster produced 65 per cent of the plane, while Goodyear only did 51 per cent and Chance-Vought 55 per cent of the work. Actually, Brewster was turning out a larger volume of production at a lower unit cost.**

The sit-in was called off on the afternoon of the second day at the telephoned instructions of Richard T. Frankensteen, a Vice-President and national aircraft division director of the UAW-CIO. Frankensteen used a statement by Roosevelt claiming to deplore the hasty fashion of the contract termination and promising an "investigation" as the pretext for urging the workers to end their demonstration. He gave out the impression that the workers had won their demand and that jobs at Brewster were now assured them. Subsequent developments have shown this impression was groundless.

Frankensteen, one of the most reactionary elements in the UAW leadership and a member of the Addes-Stalinist clique, had intervened in the situation during the week before the sit-in. Although he had previously fought the militant policies of the Brewster local and its leadership, and had opposed their previous strike actions in defense of their contract, he undoubtedly considered the lay-off issue "safe" and a chance to refurbish his tarnished reputation among the auto and aircraft workers.

One of his chief purposes was to get the sit-in ended quickly without any embarrassment to Roosevelt. While putting out statements against what he termed the "Wall Street Navy" —a correct estimate in itself— he sought to absolve the Roosevelt administration as a whole from responsibility for the administration's contract termination policy and anti-labor attitude which led to the Brewster situation. **But the Brewster shut-down only mirrors the reconversion program put into motion by the administration's Baruck-Hancock monopoly "grab-all" plan, which Frankensteen supports.**

SHARES RESPONSIBILITY

Morsover, Frankensteen shares responsibility, along with the entire UAW top leadership, for the fact that a union-busting attack has been centered on Brewster Local 365. Under his leadership and servile policies, the rest of the aircraft locals have been forced to accept lower wages and worse working conditions than at Brewster. Had a fighting policy been pursued everywhere and conditions raised to the level of Brewster, Local 365 would not have stood out as the special target for Wall Street and the government.

The past 3 year history of the Brewster conflict gives the real clue to why the Navy Department struck its blow as it did. Four years ago the company signed the only union shop contract in the industry, and in subsequent years, under the pressure of the union established the highest wage scales and best union conditions in the industry. The rest of the industry, controlled mainly by big Wall Street financial interests, determined to break the union and gain control of the independent company.

In December 1941,, according to the available information, one of the big rubber corporations attempted to force the Brewster owners into handing over control. The rubber company's agents made the threat that if the Brewster management did not yield to the proposed conditions, they would see that the government itself took the appropriate action to force the issue. Shortly thereafter the Navy Department seized the plant on the grounds that the company was failing to fulfill its contracts. At the same time, the government agents opened up their assault against the union by claiming that the company was incapable of managing the workers or handling the union, which the Navy claimed was dictating the company's policies.

NO DISPUTE

This was the first and only plant seized by the government where no actual labor dispute was in progress. The Navy held all the company's stock in escrow and shoved the management into the background completely, operating the plant through Navy officials and then through its own appointed business managers. Three weeks ago control was finally returned to the original Brewster owners, and almost immediately afterwards they were notified of the contract termination.

Last Year the House Naval Affairs Committee held special hearings ostensibly to uncover responsibility for the alleged failure of Brewster production. The labor-hating Congressmen quickly turned the hearings into an all-out attack on the union, trying to pin the blame for management's shortcomings on Local 365 and its leaders. **Thomas De Lorenzo, president of the local, was the target of a vicious anti-labor cross-examination. Recently, as an outgrowth of these anti-labor hearings, De Lorenzo was indicted by a federal jury for a false statement he is claimed to have made at one time on a civil service application.**

De Lorenzo, in a personal interview last Saturday morning, summed up the Brewster case for **The Militant.** "There is no question," he said, "that the termination of the contract by the Navy is a move to break the union's contract and to get rid of the union. Otherwise, the Navy officials wouldn't dare put a prime manufacturer of fighter planes out of business right during the war. There is also no question that the Navy is only the instrument to put pressure on the present management at the inspiration of the big monopoly corporations which have been trying to get control of Brewster. Our local determined to put up a fight even if it didn't get us anything for ourselves. We wanted at least to let the rest of the labor movement know what is in store for it."

BUSINESS WEEK

The Brewster sit-in has done just that. **Business Week,** an astute organ of Big Business, candidly advises its corporation clientele:

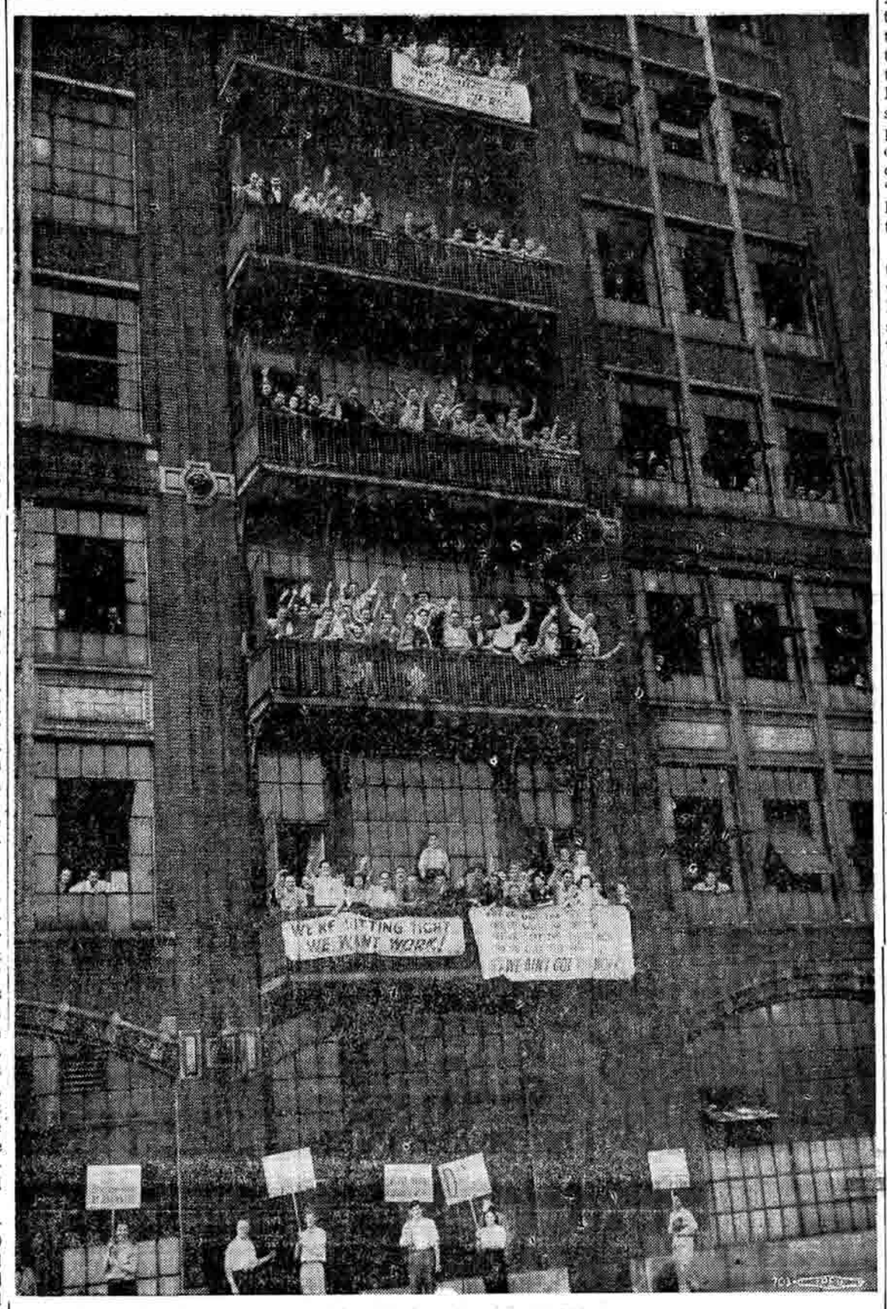
"Business and government got a frightening preview of labor relations in reconversion over Memorial Day when Brewster Aeronautical's employees staged their stay-in demonstration. Here is a problem that will grow day by day as invasion brings closer the fall of Germany. In Brewster's case, the outbreak was short, nonviolent. Other instances won't be so relatively simple. . . Management will find labor striking, refusing to vacate plants. . . . Broken windows, cracked skulls are not improbable; marches on Washington are not at all impossible."

That is the real prospect for labor's future as the capitalist rulers see it themselves. They have no program for jobs and security. They and their government agents are preparing instead for "broken windows, cracked skulls . . . marches on Washington."

Already there have been hundreds of mass lay-offs throughout the nation's war industries due to contract terminations and production cut-backs. Until the Brewster sit-in, these were played down or ignored by the Big Business press. Under the restraining hand of the union bureaucracy, the dismissed workers failed to put up a fight against being thrown out on the streets, driven to break up their homes and families in the search for work. This failure to resist enabled the administration and corporations to push forward without opposition their program for curtailing production without regard for the interests of the workers.

But the Brewster struggle has served to teach the workers everywhere the old lesson that the only way to defend their jobs and their right to work is by militant mass union action. Only bold and resolute mass resistance can force the Roosevelt administration and corporations to retreat from their scheme to retrench production at the expense of the workers—the very heart of Wall Street's "post war plan."

Scene at Brewster "Sit-In"



A scene at the Brewster Aircraft plant, Long Island City, New York, when workers staged their "sit-in" protest against being thrown out of their jobs. Slogans hung from the balconies reading: "We Want Work!", "Hard Work Pays Poor Dividends at Brewster," "D-Day—Dismissal Day at Brewster." Associated Press Photo.

Bridges Knifes His Union By Permanent No-Strike Pledge

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — The announcement by Harry Bridges of the extension of the no-strike pledge for an indefinite period "after the war," was made on the eve of negotiations for a new contract by the warehousemen's section of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. This policy was presented in the form of a preamble to be included in all future contracts negotiated by the union. The warehousemen's locals of the ILWU are currently engaged in negotiations with the Association of San Francisco Distributors for revision of their 3-year contract which expires on May 31. The demonstrative announcement of a perpetual no-strike pledge weakens the union in its negotiations and permits the Association to safely reject any revision in favor of the men.

Taking full advantage of the belly-crawling policies of the Bridges-Stalinist clique, developments in the San Francisco area indicate that the labor haters are preparing an offensive against Bridges' parent Longshoremen's Local 1-10. Ever since Pearl Harbor, the army has been hiring men through the Civil Service to do longshoreman work on the army transport docks and at army bases. These men, working under the classification of Dock Seamen, do longshoreman work at less than the union scale of wages. Dock seamen receive 91 cents per hour for an 8 hour day as against $1.10 an hour for a six hour day, which is the union scale. There are now approximately twice as many non-union men doing longshoreman work in the area as there are union men.

The implications are obvious — even to Bridges. The May 18 issue of the Longshoremen's Bulletin sums up the problem: "Unless these thousands of workers are organized into the ILWU, our organization will be destroyed. We might get a contract and retain our hiring hall — but we'd get no work! The employers know this and are doing everything possible to prevent these workers from becoming members of the International. Some Army and Navy officers, who not so long ago were shipowner representatives, are working hand in hand with the employers."

A recent circular put out by the army to dock seamen states explicitly that union membership is not a prerequisite for employment on the army docks and that the army does not bargain with unions. On top of this the army has begun to bring in prisoners of war to do work in the dockyards. German prisoners number some 400 and 1000 Italian prisoners are already working in the Bay area, doing work that should come under the jurisdiction of the ILWU.

The Longshoremen's Union arose out of the Pacific Coast maritime strike of 1934 which culminated in the famous San Francisco general strike; it has a tradition of struggle that will not easily be destroyed by the Bridges-Stalinist clique. Already it is murmured that Bridges is living on his past, that the days of his rule are numbered.

WLB And Its Role Flayed By Official Of Machinists Union In San Francisco

(Continued from page 1)

fulfill all the terms of the old contract."

"What has been the attitude of the War Labor Board?" I asked.

"The most glaring example of the role of the WLB" he answered, "is the manner in which the case first got to them. The employers stalled — they would agree and then they would repudiate their agreement. They kept using delaying tactics. When the Lodge began to stand pat, they then went through the conciliation proceedings required by law. The conciliator came in at 10:30 on a Saturday and we were in conference for a little over thirty minutes. **The employers broke it up, over the protest of the conciliator. They just went through the formality to get the case to the WLB. In fact, as proof of this, the conference ended a little after 11:30, and the WLB had the case by that very afternoon. This was done by the combined action of the Tenth Regional WLB and a number of the employers who are trying to dump Lodge 68.**

"The Tenth Regional Board took jurisdiction even without waiting for the conciliator's report. The employers wanted an immediate order against us. That would have been too open, so the Board requested the employers to write a protest charging that we impeded the war effort. The Board called us in for a hearing but made no attempt to prove any obstruction of the war effort. They wanted us to rescind the order of the eight hour day.

"Since the first of the year, about 1200 members have been laid off; one half of those are already out of the industry. Because of this, the membership maintained its position on the eight hour day.

"They have tried to make the eight hour day a burning issue and implied that the men are on strike. Davis made a statement saying that he regarded the union action as a blow against the whole WLB machinery.

"We take the position that never has it been mandatory for our men to work overtime. Our agreements have called for an 8 hour day. We have always held this position. **The only difference now is that that position has been formally established by a regular meeting of the Lodge. The Board threatened, in effect, to have the government take over the machine shops and jail Hook and Dillon unless they request the men to work overtime. They even threatened to jail the men who would refuse to work overtime."**

At this point Harry Hook, the other business agent of the Lodge walked in. Tall and spare, he and Dillon have been the main subjects of attack by the Board.

"How have the men in the union reacted to this campaign?" I asked.

"The question was presented to them four different times and they voted each time, unanimously, to continue this policy until the agreement is signed."

"How have the members of the War Labor Board acted toward you?"

"The people on the Board, unsolicited by us, have tried to intervene in the situation. They have tried to tell us what is going on. Goldblatt (Louis Goldblatt, CIO labor representative on the Board) is trying to organize labor against us. This Lodge has achieved the enmity of many organizations, including the Communist Party. There are a few members in the Lodge who follow the Communist Party line; they pick around the edges and try to drive a wedge into the lodge. They try to cultivate an opposition to us. Every time they try to do this and fail, they clam up. Their actions are part of their no-strike policy now and after the war."

"What is your opinion on the no-strike policy after the war, as recently announced by Bridges?"

"Anyone that signs away the rights of labor is signing away the labor movement. Anyone who takes such actions against militant, democratic labor cannot be an asset to the labor movement. I have never seen anything as utterly repulsive and unscrupulous as this action. The Communist Party, in my opinion, has lost any faith in the class struggle. If there is no class struggle, then you wouldn't need a union."

"What is the basis of the drydock dispute at Moore's?"

(This refers to an extended dispute over repair rates on new ships returning from trial runs. The unions, both Lodge 68 and Local 1304, CIO are involved and jointly contend that work on these ships is identical with other repair work and should be at the usual rate of $1.34 per hour. The yards with WLB backing, are insisting that the work should be at the rate of new construction at $1.20 per hour. During the controversy, Dillon was called to Washington to testify before the WLB. The case is still in the Board's hands.)

Dillon shrugged his shoulders. "There is no real controversy here. The case is pending before the shipbuilding commission. It is interesting to note that the WLB tenth Regional Board has no jurisdiction over the marine industry. This industry comes under the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, but it tried to block them from giving us a hearing because of this other situation.

"The shipping companies have kept the ships tied up over minor issues. The whole beef that they made so much noise about; the total work would amount to at most, two weeks work for a handful of men. Two to five men working 8 hours could handle the biggest of those disputed jobs. All we did was to shift the men to other jobs while this dispute was being settled. They held a ship at drydock for 15 days, at a drydock charge of $1000 per day, while the machinist's work amounted to no more than $40."

"We have some of the most vicious government agencies in this area. We can deal with the employers; but the agencies cause the trouble. Many employers have made agreements with us that were later repudiated by the Boards. To be candid, the purpose of the Board is to start breaking up the Labor movement."

"Doesn't the whole set up of the government Boards make for that?" I asked.

"To start out" he replied, "you have two to one against you. The public member of the Board very seldom comes from labor. The sad part is that labor representation is weak. Once these representatives get into that atmosphere, they follow the path of least resistance."

Lodge 68 has been in existence since 1885. Dillon has been business agent since 1936. From 1938 on the union has had 100% organization in San Francisco. There is no machine shop of any consequence that does not have a contract with 68.

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An Eyewitness Looks At Italy Under The AMG

[The following article is a first-hand account of conditions in Southern Italy today, written by a young American merchant seaman, who recently visited Italy.]

By William Hill

South Italy mirrors in miniature the fate of Europe under Allied rule. Naples, a metropolis of some one million inhabitants, eloquently illustrates Italy's present position.

I was in Naples some six months after Allied occupation. The conditions that exist are almost unbelievable.

Food is simply not to be had. As soon as I left the pier, I saw long lines of beggars, including women with babies at their breasts. I saw in the streets of main thoroughfares groups of small children, homeless, too weak from hunger even to beg.

The workers' slums along miles of endless alleys are decrepit and unsanitary. Three and four families live in one and two room apartments. Disease is widespread. Prostitution is probably Naples' most flourishing industry. Immediately one sets foot in the city the visitor is accosted by small boys all under 10 who act as hustlers drumming up trade. The responsibility for these disgraceful conditions does not rest with the population or with the small children who are forced into this work. The responsibility rests with the Allies and the reactionary Badoglio regime.

HUNGER

Clothing is as scarce as food. People clothe themselves in rags put together in a crazy patchwork. Middle class families also suffer terrible hardships. A university student whom I met invited me to his home but begged me to bring a piece of bread for his hungry mother.

"Law and order" is enforced by American and British MP's. Despite all newspaper talk to the contrary, Italy is a conquered nation and is treated as such by the Allies. MP's at best are arbitrary; at the worst they are brutal.

When I heard of an Italian longshoreman on my ship being slapped down by an MP for purloining a small item, I wondered why the high AMG officials are so reluctant to deal a hard blow at the opulent fascist-controlled Black Market.

One of the most significant facts I encountered is the widespread feeling among the Italian people that they were better off under German occupation than under the present Allied occupation. For one thing, they state that food was more plentiful under the German administration...

ITALY'S FUTURE

What of Italy's future? Italy is in a ferment. The Italians, still dazed by the many blows which they have been dealt, are feverishly groping for a solution. The streets of Naples are filled with political literature — socialist, Stalinist, Marxist. The political parties are holding mass meetings. Particularly indicative of the political feelings of the people are those anonymous scrawls which appear on buildings or walls. Occasionally a Viva for Roosevelt is seen. But in far greater profusion, in bold and striking letters is the challenge — Viva L'Esercito Rosso! Long live the Red Army!

What does this mean? The Italian masses instinctively cheer the red army victories. They wish to emulate the Russian masses who in the Russian revolution of 1917 destroyed the rule of the landlords and capitalists.

Out of the bomb-blasted tenements this call will grow louder and more insistent. Neither Badoglio nor AMG can stifle it. Italy will move to a better day.

Anti-Capitalist Demonstration in Naples

A part of the mass demonstration held in Naples on March 12, is shown above. The demonstration was called in protest against the monarchy, a few days after Churchill openly proclaimed Allied support of hated King Victor Emmanuel. The temper of the Italian people is shown in the signs; significantly, the largest reads "Down with Capitalism;" the sign in the background calls for "Liberty, Democracy, Jobs!"

Imperialist 'Liberation' Has Brought Italians More Woes

By James Cowan

Ten months have passed since the Italian masses rose to put an end to the regime of Mussolini and his Fascist Blackshirt gangsters. Nine months have elapsed since the Allied armies of "liberation" marched into southern Italy as bearers of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms." Now that other European countries are about to be "liberated" by the Allies, it is appropriate to draw a balance sheet of the Allied occupation, to assess the blessings which the American and British armies have brought to the unhappy Italian people.

"Freedom of religion?"—meaning freedom of the priestly caste to give and of the exploited and oppressed to receive the opiates of the church — this the masses never lost, even under Mussolini's rule.

"Freedom of speech and press?" — these are as far from realization now as they were ten months ago. Southern Italy and Sicily are under the dictatorial regime of Badoglio and the King and the six "opposition" parties, back of which stand the armies of the Allied imperialists. No paper can be printed and distributed without permission of the Allied military authorities and such permission is granted only to those who do not criticize the Badoglio regime and its imperialist backers. No public meeting or demonstration can be held without similar permission and this, too, is withheld from real oppositionist groups.

"Freedom from fear?" — the Italian people live in greater fear today than they did under Mussolini. The "democratic" imperialists promised them peace if only they would get rid of Mussolini. Instead, their country has been turned into a battlefield of the rival imperialist camps. Towns and villages are being shattered into rubble. The inhabitants are in daily terror of aerial bombardments.

BLACK MARKETS

But perhaps there is "freedom from want" — it is here that we encounter the most glaring contradiction between Allied promise and Allied performance. Food is scarcer than it has ever been. It can be obtained, for the most part, only in the black markets and at prices which are beyond the means of most of the people. Unbridled inflation has destroyed the value of the currency and reduced most of the population to utter beggary.

The inevitable accompaniments of this situation — mass undernourishment and disease — are rife everywhere. Prostitution is flourishing on an unheard-of scale as hungry people resort to the most desperate means to obtain food.

An Italian-American seaman, John Vinaccia, visited Naples recently and reported in the Daily Worker that as he walked along the Corso di Garibaldi in Naples he noticed many boys between the ages of nine and twelve approaching English and American soldiers.

He said, "I overheard one of these kids asking the soldiers, 'Do you want to eat?' 'Do you want a girl?' My companion told me this was a common occurrence in Naples; the only way their families could eat was by sending these kids out to solicit."

Italian longshoreman in Naples told the visitor that they were being paid 100 lire, or about $1.00 a day for skilled work. Unskilled workers were receiving the equivalent of 50 to 60 cents a day. These rates, he discovered, had been fixed by the Allied Military Government.

HIGH PRICES

But meat was selling in the black market for 300 lire a kilo (2 1/5 lbs.), white bread for 100 to 150 lire a kilo, beans from 75 to 80 lire a kilo, and greens anywhere from 100 to 125 lire. A dentist told Vinaccia that it cost him 1,200 lire a day to feed his family of four and that he was only able to spend this amount because his clientele were mostly English and American soldiers who paid him in foreign currency. A skilled workman earning only 100 lire a day must watch his family wilt from undernourishment.

An ironic feature of this dismal situation is that on the paper currency printed and put in circulation by the AMG is one of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms—"Freedom from want!"

Black market prices, which place a multitude of daily necessities beyond the reach of most people, are terrific in many instances. The little coffee available sells at 500 lire per pound. Suits are priced at 5,000 lire, shirts between 700 and 1000 lire, overcoats and topcoats from 7000 to 15,000 lire. A pair of socks fetches from 200 to 400 lire.

The mother of a family of six told Vinaccia, "Sure all we receive from the administration (AMG) is fifty grams of black bread for one person, maybe a kilo of beans for a week." To such people, he said, the AMG with its fake promises of "freedom from want" was a joke. The big cry was, "How can we live if the most we can earn is 100 lire a day?" — the wage rate fixed by AMG.

According to Vinaccia, the local fascists control the black markets and are engaged in a merciless fleecing of the people under the benevolent eye of the AMG. Di Vittorio, a local Stalinist leader declared that the people are starving while the "same old fascist leeches" are seizing all the foodstuffs and selling them in the black markets.

Prices have risen at least 500 percent since 1940 but wages are held to the level of the Mussolini era. Black market prices—and nearly everything finds its way into the black markets—are on the average ten times the legal maximum prices. Bread which is pegged 3.60 lire a kilo actually sells at 80 lire.

ACUTE SITUATION

The acute food situation is aggravated by the practice of the peasants in hoarding grain and other foodstuffs. They refuse to send their produce to market to be exchanged for paper currency in which they have no confidence. Before the Allied occupation, the lire had a foreign exchange value of about 22 to the dollar, but the AMG has debased it to a rate of about 100 to the dollar.

Max Ascoli, well-known Italian writer, pro-Ally, now a refugee in the United States, asserts that "because of the inflation, the fixed-income class is slowly dying of starvation and the workers see thieves and pillagers become rich and prosperous while they starve."

Conditions are worse today under AMG rule than they were before. The daily bread ration per person is 100 grams (about 3½ ounces) — less than the average American eats at breakfast. Before the Allied occupation the ration was 200 grams for adolescents, 300 grams for light workers and expectant mothers, 400 grams for heavy workers. This grim comparison of figures tells its own story of what has happened to the Italian people under Allied rule.

Badly off as the employed workers are, they are still much better situated than the unemployed. And according to the Soviet journal, *War and the Working Class*, there are 100,000 unemployed in Naples alone! The Allied authorities are simply not interested in repairing and reconstructing plants destroyed by the war. They merely recondition those facilities which are useful or essential to their military operations, such as dock and harbor works. For the rest, they leave matters to the Badoglio regime and its local fascist administrations, but veto anything that doesn't fit into their own plans — as, for example, when they rejected a scheme for market and rationing control submitted by the 6-party coalition.

"LIBERATED" ITALY

In other words, they are leaving the Italian masses to stew in their own juice, with never a backward glance at the fullsome promises of prosperity which they dangled before the eyes of the war-weary people prior to the invasion.

But they have not relaxed their iron military control over the country. They keep Badoglio and the King and all the local fascist administrators in office.

They clamp down on every popular mass movement so that the capitalists and landlords, the profiteers and black market speculators may continue to live well and get rich from the miseries of the people.

This is the picture of "liberated" Italy after nine months of Allied occupation.

know differently. The record is clear. The masses will not be tricked. The reactionary Italian monarchy is doomed. Allied bayonets can only postpone its extinction.

Arrested in Algeria

ALGERIA, May 31—A number of Jewish refugees from Austria have been arrested in Algeria and Morocco for organizing Trotskyist cells in cooperation with the Arabs, in various localities.

From special dispatch to the Jewish Morning Journal.

Prince Umberto -- New Tool Of Monarchist Dictatorship

By J. C.

King Victor Emmanuel announced when the Badoglio government was recently reorganized that he would turn over all activity to his "lieutenant," Crown Prince Umberto as soon as the Allied armies occupied Rome. Now that the Anglo-American forces are entering Rome, the new "democratic" titular ruler of Italy will be Prince Umberto.

The rulers in Washington and London are convinced that they need the monarchy as a bulwark against the tide of social revolution. Unfortunately for the Allies, the House of Savoy was so intimately tied up with the Fascist regime of Mussolini, so smeared with its crimes, that it had thoroughly discredited itself before the masses.

In the nine months since the overthrow of Mussolini this has become clear beyond the faintest shadow of a doubt. The slogan "Down with the King!" has resounded throughout the land.

The House of Savoy naturally wishes to save itself. It possesses tremendous wealth and privileges. Kings have a horror of unemployment. They like employment even less. They seek by all means to perpetuate their comfortable parasitic existence.

A TRICK

It became clear that the Italian monarchy could be saved from the anger of the people only by a miracle — or a trick. Miracles, of course, do not happen and so a trick was decided upon. When the Badoglio regime was in process of having its face lifted by the political beauticians of Washington and London, with the aid of the Stalinists, social-democrats and liberals, Victor Emmanuel announced that he would step down from the throne after the Allies captured Rome and turn his job as King over to his son, Prince Umberto, who would rule in regency fashion with the title of lieutenant-governor.

This trick is not likely to succeed. The Italian working-class knows only too well that the entire royal house, including Umberto, was intimately tied to fascism and is part and parcel of the system of capitalist exploitation which gave it birth. The seal of the House of Savoy was set upon every act of the fascist regime from 1922 until the hour when Mussolini was toppled from power.

Umberto himself licked the boots of Mussolini and the fascists all through the years when the masses were suffering the infamies of the fascist dictatorship. When the blackshirt troops, led by Marshal Badoglio, were parading in triumph through the streets of Rome after their barbaric conquest of Ethiopia, Umberto stood with Victor Emmanuel on the balcony of the Quirinal Palace, raising his arm in the fascist salute. When the gold wedding rings of millions of Italian women were sacrificed to pay for that imperialist adventure, Umberto's wife, the Princess Maria Jose, made a demonstrative public offering of her own ring to the fascist cause.

MUSSOLINI'S MAN

In 1938, Umberto was appointed by Mussolini to the position of Inspector of the Italian Infantry. On May 23, after reviewing regiments of Royal Grenadiers, he sent a telegram to Mussolini: "Duce, I wish you to know that the Italian Grenadiers, as citizens and as soldiers, are ever ready to obey your orders in peace-time and in a glorious war for the imperial greatness of the Fascist fatherland."

The same day, overcome with love for Fascism, he wired Achilles Starace, secretary of the Fascist Party: "The Grenadiers fraternity united with the Blackshirts send their Fascist salute to the Bersaglieri who fought in the First War and in Africa."

Princess Maria Jose joined the Red Cross and led a great drive to recruit nurses for the Ethiopian campaign. On Oct. 3, 1939 she sent an affectionate telegram to Mussolini "Duce, I wish to convey to you the undying faith of the Red Cross nurses of Italy who, following your shining example, will always be able to accomplish their silent duty. Your very affectionate cousin, Maria di Savoia."

A month later Umberto was demonstrating anew his love of Fascism when he and Mussolini "knelt together in devout religious rapture" at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Rome to do "homage" to the thousands of men, Italians and Africans, whom they had sacrificed in the Ethiopian war.

This is the man whom the Allied "democrats" and the Italian capitalist class were grooming for the Italian throne before Rome had fallen. He will be presented as a "friend of democracy" who is really concerned for the welfare of "his" people. But the people

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Stalinists In Greece Back Monarchist Rule

By Ralph Graham

Having for the moment rescued the reactionary shadow regime of Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel from the oblivion to which the revolutionary-minded masses of Italy sought to consign it, the Stalinists have now jumped in to save the stark reactionary Greek government-in-exile headed by King George II.

Negotiations have been completed for the formation of a national "coalition" government which permits the King, and his reactionary retainers, to remain in office in order that they may transplant themselves from Cairo to Greek soil after the Nazis have been driven from the country. This has been done in the teeth of opposition from the Greek masses, including the soldiers and sailors, who have over and over again declared their abhorrence of the monarchy and all it stands for.

As in the case of Italy, the Stalinists have taken the lead in "breaking the deadlock" for reaction. They were the leading participants late last month in a four-day conference in Beirut at which a decision was reached by various Greek political groupings for the creation of a "Pan Hellenic coalition" which would serve under the detested King.

The new government, like the "new" Badoglio government in Italy, will simply be the old rotten regime subjected to a process of "democratic" face-lifting. It will be a monarchical police-military dictatorship, but adorned with Stalinist and social-democratic traitors. It will rule by decree and will possess not a shadow of popular authority. Its one purpose will be to forestall, and if need be crush, the socialist revolution in Greece.

BEIRUT CONFERENCE

The Stalinists were represented at the Beirut conference through the EAM, most popular of the political groupings in underground Greece, and the ELAS, which is the military arm of the EAM. At the conclusion of the conference, they dispatched a message to Prime Minister Churchill, thanking him for "his interest in Greece and its future" and stating that "we will do all in our power to achieve national unity." (N. Y. Times, May 22).

This was the same Churchill who only a few weeks previously had demonstrated his "interest in Greece and its future" by using British warships and British troops to crush a mutiny of Greek soldiers and naval men who were protesting against the reactionary Greek government and the support given to it by Churchill and the Anglo-American imperialists. The revolutionary-minded Greek sailors and soldiers will remember this when the Stalinists come forward in the guise of champions of Greek liberty.

In his speech to the House of Commons on May 24, Churchill acknowledged the message of the Stalinists, saying he had received "a very agreeable letter" from them. Churchill indeed has cause to be grateful to these betrayers of the Greek masses. They have done for him what he was unable to accomplish himself after many months of effort. All his attempts to bolster up the rotten government of King George, to rescue it from isolation, and to invest it with a semblance of popular support, had failed dismally.

DICTATOR METAXAS

The Greek masses could not forget that it was this King who brought the vile dictator, General Metaxas, to power only a few short years ago, and that it was the bloody Metaxas who smashed the trade unions and wiped out all democratic liberties. Militant socialists were arrested and killed. Every trace of political opposition was driven underground and the black night of totalitarian dictatorship descended upon Greece. It continued right up to the invasion of the country by the Italian and German armies.

King George and the coterie who surround him fled Greece when the legions of Mussolini and Hitler descended upon the country, and set up a papier mache government in Cairo under the benevolent eye of Churchill. **But the Greek masses continued the struggle against the Nazi-Fascist oppressors. They aim to sweep their country free, not only of the foreign invaders, but also of the capitalist-landlord scum which the King and his clique represent.**

BRITISH IMPERIALISTS

So keen and widespread is the hatred of the monarchy that in April of this year an entire Greek brigade stationed in Egypt, near Alexandria, mutinied. The soldiers refused any longer to take orders from Greek Monarchist officers. The mutiny spread to Greek warships lying at the Alexandria naval base. The sailors formed ship committees and took charge of the vessels.

Possessing no adequate forces of its own with which to quell the mutiny the King's "government" appealed to the British

Shown above is Victor Emmanuel (top), cohort of Mussolini, kept on his throne for nearly a year after Mussolini's downfall, only by the power of Allied bayonets. He relinquished his throne, appointing as regent Prince Umberto (below), likewise a lifelong friend of Fascism, a supporter of the Ethiopian invasion, and now the trusted ally of Churchill and Roosevelt.

imperialists. Churchill acted promptly. He described the ensuing action in his Commons speech on May 24:

"The Greek brigade was encircled by British forces some 30 miles from Alexandria and Greek ships which had mutinied in Alexandria harbor were lying under the guns of both shore batteries and our superior naval forces, which had rapidly gathered. The tension lasted nearly three weeks . . . The disorderly ships were boarded by Greeks under the Greek government, and, with about fifty killed and wounded, the mutineers were collected and sent ashore. The mutinous brigade in the desert were assaulted by superior British forces which captured the eminences surrounding the camp, and 4,000 men there surrendered."

The naval mutiny was touched off by the arrest in Alexandria of the leader of the Greek Maritime Union, which has headquarters in London. After the mutiny had been suppressed, the union issued an appeal to the British workers "to cease granting any help or recognition to the self-appointed Greek government in Cairo." **The mutiny had resulted, the union declared, from "the efforts of the Cairo government to impose the most notorious fascist officers upon our fighting forces" and disclosed that "thousands of Greek civilians, officers, soldiers and sailors are today confined in concentration camps for the sole crime of being anti-fascists."**

"SUBVERSIVE AGENTS"

According to Churchill, however, the mutineers had simply been "misled into evil deeds by subversive movements," and the London Times reported the mutiny under the headline: "AGITATORS' WORK." This eminent organ of British capitalism even had the gall to suggest that some of the "agitators" might have been "German agents."

Neither Churchill nor the Times believe this preposterous assertion. This is amply proved by the alacrity with which Churchill moved to supply new props for the Greek government. Premier Venizelos resigned, and a social-democrat, George Papandreou, jumped into his place. The Stalinists abandoned their former opposition to the monarchical regime and have now joined in the phony coalition which embraces "all the parties" but which is no more representative of the true interests of the Greek people than its predecessor.

The fact is that rebellion against King George and his government had been seething long before the mutiny broke out. The mutiny was the revolutionary culmination of a situation which had grown more and more intolerable to the Greeks.

GREEK WRITER

A Greek writer in the **Nation** for May 13 tells how in August of last year the Greek underground organizations sent six representatives to Cairo to demand a statement from the King that he would not return to Greece. They were "placed under house arrest by the British authorities, kept strictly incommunicado, and later sent back to Greece under the most humiliating circumstances. Censorship in Egypt became increasingly ruthless, and the British government joined with the Greek royalist clique in a campaign to defame the guerrillas."

But the crisis grew. "The British authorities increased their persecution of democratic officers and soldiers. More than 4,000 had already been sent to concentration camps and many more were arrested daily. The impression became prevalent in the army that the Allies intended to get rid of it because of its unwillingness to support the king. George II continued his intrigues in London . . . The army's determination to end his machinations took more and more concrete form . . . Hundreds of other persons, not only army men but civilians, were arrested . . . People disappeared without a warrant having been issued, without any specific charge having been brought against them, and without notification to their families. The Greek military headquarters in Cairo were occupied by force. The offices of the Greek government were placed under British supervision. The editor of the newspaper **Hellin** and the directors of the Hellenic League of Liberation and of the Seamen's Association of Alexandria were arrested."

This was the atmosphere in which the mutiny ripened. The mutineers formed more than 60% of the Greek Army abroad and almost the entire navy. Yet according to Churchill it was all a conspiracy hatched by "subversive movements."

Churchill's persistence in foisting the reactionary monarchy on the Greeks is part of the overall policy of the Allies to create and support such regimes for all European countries as dikes against social revolution. The brute force used to crush the movement against the Greek monarchy is a foretaste of what the imperialists will do whenever the masses intervene with their own independent aims. The Allied policy is counter-revolutionary to the core. The Allies seek to crush every popular movement which cannot be made to acquiesce in their reactionary schemes.

STALINIST BETRAYAL

The Greek Stalinists, in the beginning, led and supported the movement against the monarchy. This was their way of gaining a following among the masses. But once the masses took to the road of revolutionary action against the monarchy and its imperialist backers, the Stalinists stabbed them in the back and joined hands with the reaction. This is in line with Stalin's policy of blocking and betraying every revolutionary movement which endangers capitalism, for revolution anywhere threatens also to topple the rotten Soviet bureaucracy from power.

This policy of perfidious betrayal was first fully unfolded in Italy where the Stalinists came to the rescue of Badoglio and the King against the revolutionary masses. Now it unfolds in Greece. Tomorrow it will be Yugoslavia, then France, then Germany. **The first task to be accomplished if Europe is to be truly liberated and projected along the path of socialism, is the utter exposure of Stalinism. Its influence must be destroyed, its agents rooted out of every popular movement of the masses.**

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

Mr. Rockefeller And His Negro Colleges

Radio listeners from coast to coast had the dubious privilege a couple of Fridays ago of hearing the eminent John D. Rockefeller Jr. make an appeal for contributions to the United Negro College Fund of which he is national chairman. The fund seeks $1,500,000 for the continued maintenance of 27 small, private Negro Colleges.

As was to be expected, some Negroes are already shouting the praises of Mr. Rockefeller. They ask: Aren't Negroes denied entrance to practically all white institutions of higher learning in the South and to many in the North? Under the circumstances, don't we need financial support for our own colleges so that our boys will have a chance for a higher education too? After all, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and people of his class are openly contributing their time, effort and money to assure the survival of these colleges. Maybe these big, bad capitalists that the Trotskyists are alway talking about mean to be nice to us Negroes, after all. Such has been the build-up for Mr. Rockefeller in certain quarters since he launched this drive.

The simple fact, however, is this: Big business does not give anything away out of the goodness of its heart. As a rule, its representatives only expend their money and energy when they are assured of receiving a proportionate return in one form or another on their investment.

ROCKEFELLER'S "PHILANTHROPY"

But how could such an apparently sincere philanthropy as maintenance of Negro colleges pay any dividends to Mr. Rockefeller and his friends? Are we being a trifle far-fetched? Not by a long shot. It is no coincidence that this and other similar funds are largely backed by certain wealthy individuals and big corporations. This class of people are altruistic, all right — like a fox. They are the same people who have extracted tremendous profits as a result of their monopoly of this earth's natural resources and by the exploitation of human labor. This state of affairs can continue only so long as the present system of economic anarchy obtains.

Here, then, is the key. These colleges, as they are operated today serve in an indirect manner as props for the system of capitalism — that system whereby the Rockefellers and others have grabbed billions of dollars at the expense of the masses. Practically all of these private colleges that are to benefit from this fund are located in the South. Any Negro from the South knows that any institution that is allowed to exist down there must abide by the general practice of teaching meekness and submission for the Negro. The official policy of any Negro "educational" institution under those circumstances must be pro-segregation, pro-white supremacy and anti-militancy. It is because of this racial separatism and the resulting prejudices that the wealthy landowners and industrialists (usually backed by Northern money), are able to keep the wages and living conditions of the white and Negro workers so low in the South. In this way the pro-segregation practice of these colleges is also pro-capitalist.

"UNCLE TOMS"

The president of such a school is usually either an "Uncle Tom" Negro or some worn-out white missionary. The boards of directors are made up of high caste, wealthy conservatives. The instructors most sure to retain their jobs from year to year are those who are the most reactionary.

For example, in the orientation courses at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., you are taught to consider yourself above the masses. This same practice is reported at many other small Negro colleges. You are given to understand that those who are not fortunate enough to be able to go to college are mentally unable to solve their sociological problems. Social distinctions based on skin color and calculated to create intra-racial prejudices are given the official green light. Religion is played up big. Capitalist government practices are rigidly defended. Struggles for complete racial equality are ridiculed as utopian. Jim Crowism in the educational system as well as elsewhere is sanctioned. Militant methods of struggle are ridiculed and discouraged. The discussion of revolutionary socialism is strictly taboo. **Whoever differs too vigorously with this reactionary policy leaves himself open to expulsion. What happens, then, is that the cream of Negro youth, following the natural desire for further understanding and better opportunity, is drained into the churn of these Negro colleges where, every militant tendency that could be of service in liberating the Negro people is destroyed under the incessant pounding of capitalist miseducation. After this conditioning you are "prepared" to go out and be a leader of your race.**

SUPER-CYNIC

As expected, George Schuyler, super-cynic for the conservative Pittsburgh Courier, tries to make believe that these schools are a boon to the Negro race. Criticizing workers who according to him are "making more money than any time in history," for not helping Mr. Rockefeller out a little more, he quotes the well-known late educator Kelly Miller:

"The Negro pays for what he wants and begs for what he needs." This slur reveals Schuyler's contempt for the masses. As a matter of fact, it is your big shot educators, rather than the workers whom you will usually find begging. Most of these educators have been typical Uncle Toms from Booker T. Washington with his policy of train our hands not our heads down to Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, with his public sanction of separate Negro and white Air Forces to do battle for "democracy."

Furthermore, why should we have all-Negro colleges? Even though there are probably no white applicants (except occasional Jews who are also widely discriminated against in higher education) still the all-Negro policy is just as obnoxious as that of the many white universities which bar Negro students. **If Mr. Rockefeller is really interested in more equal opportunities for the Negro people why should he make this appeal for the salvation of these 27 little Jim-Crow colleges? He should, instead, throw the weight of his influence and money behind a campaign to stop the thousands of other colleges from refusing to admit a student because of his color. As far as the masses are concerned, capitalist subsidization of Jim-Crow colleges is a step with the wrong foot and in the wrong direction.**

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Unconditional Pardon Of The 18 Demanded By Brewster-CIO Leader In Radio Speech

[The following radio address on the Minneapolis Labor case and the New York mass meeting to demand the freedom of the 18, was delivered by Mr. Gabriel De Angelis, Financial Secretary of Brewster Local 365,, UAW-CIO, and a member of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, on June 1st over station WEVD.]

GABRIEL DE ANGELIS

Free speech, civil liberties, labor's rights — cherished possessions of the American people — have been placed in peril by the convictions and imprisonment of 18 trade union and socialist leaders in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case. This has been correctly characterized as the most important civil liberties issue of World War II.

The prosecution and convictions arose out of a long-standing conflict over questions of trade union democracy between Local 544 membership and Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This conflict came to a head when on June 9, 1941, at a regular membership meeting, almost 4,000 members present decided by almost unanimous vote to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Daniel Tobin wired the White House for help to prevent this change of union affiliation. Immediately after this followed the indictments and arrests.

The indictments contained two counts. Count 1, which charged "overt acts" was so flimsy and fantastic, that it was thrown out by the jury, during the five-weeks trial. Count 2 was drawn up under the provisions of a new law passed in peacetime 1940 and popularly known as the Smith "Gag" Act. Although this law has never been tested for its constitutionality, 18 of the defendants were convicted and sentenced to federal prison terms.

The sponsor of the Smith "Gag" law is the same poll-tax Congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia who is leader of the anti-labor bloc in Congress and co-author of the Smith-Connally act. Smith and his associates put through this law as a weapon in their reactionary campaign against the rights of labor.

Both the CIO and AFL opposed its passage in Congress. The American Civil Liberties Union denounced it as a violation of the Bill of Rights and declared the Smith Act "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor." Worst of all, the U. S. Supreme Court, in an unprecedented action, three times refused to review this case, to test the constitutionality of this anti-labor law.

This prosecution is the most sweeping government attack upon democratic and labor rights in many years. This law, which makes the expression of opinion alone a federal crime, is in flagrant contradiction with the rights of the American people for free speech and free press guaranteed under the Bill of Rights. In refusing to hear this case, the Supreme Court has set an extremely dangerous precedent which can now be used against other trade unionists and minority groups.

That is why my union, Local 365 UAW-CIO, of which Mr. De Lorenzo is President and I am Financial Secretary, following the mandate of our membership, are giving full moral and financial support to this case.

A public Mass Meeting to protest these unjust imprisonments will be held Thursday, June 8, in the Crystal Ball Room of the Hotel Diplomat at 108 West 43rd St. Prominent labor figures will discuss the case and point out the menace of the Smith "Gag" law to the whole organized labor movement. Among the speakers will be Thomas De Lorenzo, President UAW-CIO Local 365, Samuel Wolchok, President, United Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Employees of America-CIO, Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, Daniel Bell, Associate Editor of **The New Leader**, Albert Gates, Editor, **Labor Action**. George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the Textile Workers Union of America-CIO will be the Chairman of the meeting.

George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, who has just returned from a three months coast-to-coast tour covering all the principal cities in the country will give an account of the tremendous labor-liberal response throughout the country to this important case. The Civil Rights Defense Committee, of which James T. Farrell, noted author, is Chairman, and George Novack, National Secretary, is conducting a national campaign to free the 18 imprisoned union and socialist leaders, and to fight for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act. The national offices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is at 160 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

I would like to urge everyone to attend this important mass meeting on June 8 at the Hotel Diplomat to hear these prominent labor and liberal figures discuss the importance of the Minneapolis Labor Case.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 9, 1934

CALIFORNIA—In twenty West Coast cities, striking workers of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association were waging a determined fight for the closed shop. In San Francisco and Oakland, machinists and riggers in all major shipyards walked out in support of the longshoremen. **Strike leaders and militant unionists went over the heads of the reactionary AFL International bureaucrats and made preparations to call a general strike in support of their demands. In Oakland, the strike committee initiated a call for "formation of a General Waterfront Workers Federation to include all unions on the waterfront and in the marine industry,"** The Militant **reported.**

PITTSBURGH—Delegates from steel locals throughout the country met to formulate a course of action as the steel barons moved to preserve the company-union set-up under the protection of Roosevelt's NRA (National Recovery Act) Codes. The steel workers' organization, at this time still part of the AFL, was under the treacherous leadership of Mike Tighe who feared strike action almost as much as the steel barons themselves.

TOLEDO—Settlement of the great Auto-Lite strike was announced on June 5, with three substantial gains for the union as a result of the militant struggle. First, the union was named in the contract as bargaining agent for the workers, a victory of tremendous importance not only for Auto-Lite workers but for the entire auto industry. Union recognition paved the way for the elimination of company unionism throughout the industry. Second, there was to be no discrimination against strikers; and although scabs remained on the company payroll, they were designated as the first to be released in event of lay-offs. Third, a 5 percent wage increase for all workers, was won with a minimum of 5 percent above the NRA code minimums, so that women workers gained as much as 17 percent increases in pay.

The union victory at Auto-Lite struck the first blow in the organization of the automobile industry and the emergence of the powerful auto union.

Tobin "Explains" His Frameup Role

Although Daniel J. Tobin, dictator-president of the AFL Teamster's Union, succeeded in reestablishing his stranglehold on the Minneapolis drivers and having the Roosevelt government frameup and imprison the leaders of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO, he still gets a cold chill when he thinks of how nearly his machine-rule was displaced. Every once in a while he lets loose in his personal organ, *The International Teamster*, with another slanderous smear against the Trotskyists and the Local 544-CIO leadership.

Gracing the May issue of his magazine is a choice piece of literary garbage entitled: "Teamster's Union Supports Russia — Crushed Trotsky Move Aimed at Joseph Stalin." In this, three year's after the fact, Tobin reveals that his efforts to destroy Local 544-CIO and betray the Minneapolis teamsters were really to prevent the Trotskyists "from functioning and collecting sums of money . . . to be used against Joseph Stalin."

He also takes the occasion to inform his membership that "some of those men . . . were afterwards found guilty of embezzlement of the funds of the organization in Minneapolis," a reference obviously to his frameup against Kelly Postal, who was imprisoned for transferring the funds of the AFL union local, at the direction of the membership to Local 544-CIO.

Tobin piously represents himself as a defender of democratic unionism, and winds up advising and warning his members against the Trotskyists, who even in prison worry him no end.

The issue of the magazine itself is an example of Tobin's "democracy." No less than six articles in the slim publication, 14 out of 24 pages, are products of Tobin's pen — he isn't going to let anybody else talk in the union magazine he has appropriated to himself.

Allied Plans For Europe

An Editorial

If Churchill made anything clear beyond the possibility of a doubt in his May 24 speech before the House of Commons, it is the type of regimes that the victorious Anglo-American coalition hopes and intends to impose on Europe. Discarding the previous shoddy pretenses about the "democratic" aims of the war, Churchill came out unequivocally in support of military and police dictatorships. He spoke in glowing terms of the Badoglio government in Italy; he noted with satisfaction that a similar set-up was being consolidated for Greece, while still another was in process of preparation for Yugoslavia. And as if to dispel any possible misunderstanding, Churchill went out of his way to utter "kindly words" for butcher Franco of Spain.

The public pronouncements of one of the two sponsors of the Atlantic Charter thus doubly confirm the preview of Allied post-war aims that has already been provided by the previous deeds of London and Washington (the Darlan deal, the rule of the Allied Military Government in North Africa, Sicily, Southern Italy, etc., etc.)

When such reactionary governments are being designed for countries within the camp of the so-called "United Nations," what question can there be about the monstrous despotic rule in store for a defeated Germany, if the "democracies" have the say?

The Trotskyist Position

We Trotskyists have warned from the beginning precisely against this development. In the resolution "On Perspectives and Tasks of the Coming European Revolution" adopted at the Fifteenth Anniversary Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party last November it is stated:

"Roosevelt and Churchill understand that it is not in the cards to establish stable 'democratic' capitalist governments in Europe today. Given free scope, given their democratic rights, the European working class will not require overly much time to organize their revolutionary parties and to overthrow all of their capitalist oppressors. The choice, from the Roosevelt-Churchill point of view, is a Franco-type government or the specter of the socialist revolution."

Events are verifying this forecast. This is the truth. The fine mouthings of the hypocritical liberals, the treacherous labor skates, the Stalinist finks stand revealed as deception and lies.

In the same resolution, we likewise warned against the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin:

"Stalin, exploiting the enhanced prestige of the Soviet Union as a result of the Red Army victories, seeks to gain control of the popular movements in Europe in order to use them for bargaining with the imperialists and, when nationalistic considerations require, sell them out. The Stalinist bureaucracy is capable of any treachery to socialism and the international proletariat."

Today Stalin has already revealed his counter-revolutionary hand in Italy and Greece. He is making clear that he is most anxious, together with Roosevelt and Churchill, to act as the grave digger of the European revolution and the guardian of the status-quo.

It is not for nothing that Churchill lavished praise on Stalin in his May 24 speech. The Kremlin's sell-out of the Italian people and the Italian revolution is now a matter of common knowledge. Less known is the identical course pursued by the Stalinists in Greece. An account of this sequel to the Badoglio deal is contained in Ralph Graham's article which appears in this issue. A similar deal is now in preparation for Yugoslavia. Only the gullible will believe that a different policy will be pursued by the Stalinists in relation to France, and the rest of the European continent, above all Germany.

The Conspiracy

The conspiracy against the coming European revolution is not a figment of our imagination. It is a sinister reality. But the counter-revolutionary schemes and designs of Washington, London and Moscow are only one aspect of the European situation. **There is another side: the rising tide of revolution. The first stages of the independent revolutionary action of the masses have already evidenced themselves in Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and on the morrow will surge through the whole of continental Europe. The European revolution will sweep away like so much chaff all the criminal plans of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.**

Bridges, Browder And Co.: Permanent Strikebreakers

(Continued from page 1)

ership of the CIO. In addition to this sampling of opinion, a number of lesser leaders of the CIO such as Louis Hollander, president of the N. Y. State CIO and Irving Abramson, president of the New Jersey State CIO, assailed the Bridges proposal. In this instance, the Stalinists have again revealed that they are the vanguard of reaction within the labor movement.

In April 1941, just a few months before Pearl Harbor, the CIO published a pamphlet directed against the enemies of labor who at that time were utilizing the pretext of the "National Defense Program" to impose drastic curbs on labor's right to strike. The pamphlet was titled: The Right to Strike — Keystone of Liberty. It embodied the opinion of the CIO, an opinion which has since been "temporarily" abandoned by the top leadership of that organization, but one which bears repeating as it retains all of its validity today. Setting forth a fundamental principle which the organized labor movement has fought for over a long period of years the opening section of the pamphlet states:

"The right to strike is basic to all workers' rights and to all liberty in the United States. Without this right, labor has no real protection against low wages and living standards. Labor must keep this right in order to remain free, in order to keep and improve standards won over past years of struggle.

"The right to organize and bargain collectively implies the right to strike, since strike action is the only way organized workers have of enforcing collective bargaining. Though collective bargaining is guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act, employers often refuse to obey the laws of the U. S. Strike action is then the only way by which they can be forced to recognize unions and bargain collectively.

"The right to strike . . . is inherent in all free nations. Yet today this American right is under sharp and increasing attack, in Congress, in the press, on the radio. Every day sees new proposals to take away the right to strike or to curb it so severely that its value to workers would be destroyed."

The workers have learned to expect such proposals to "take away the right to strike" from the camp of the union-hating corporations, their political agents in the government, in the plutocratic press and on the radio. The Bridges proposal, hailed by the *Daily Worker* as a masterpiece of "labor statesmanship" places the Stalinist finks squarely in the camp of the enemy — a lesson which the workers are rapidly learning. The proposal to surrender the right to strike "indefinitely" is the logical culmination of the Stalinist policy of attempting to "company-unionize" the trade unions by acting as the agents of the employers in introducing their piece-work, speed-up, strikebreaking program into the labor movement.

The Stalinists have abandoned all restraint in their plunge to reaction. They are making an open bid to Big Business for recognition as the most trustworthy agents of the Wall Street plunderbund, ready to go to any extreme in keeping the labor movement in subjection to the piratical buccaneers who dominate American economic and political life. In doing so they have not hesitated even in coming into conflict with the conservative leadership of the CIO as they did when they endorsed Roosevelt's forced labor proposal and later joined the J. P. Morgan-Sewell Avery attempt to break the Montgomery Ward strike.

The latest Bridges proposal, an aftermath of the Stalinist strikebreaking role in the Montgomery Ward dispute, has served to sharpen this conflict. The conflict will probably be aired at the coming national meeting of the CIO Executive Board.

UTSE-CIO Backs Fight to Free 18

(Continued from page 1)

Bakery & Confectionery Workers, CIO, Local 30, Detroit, Mich.

Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Local 44-AFL, San Francisco, telegraphed President Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C.: **"Cooks Union Local 44 comprised of 2,500 members assembled in regular meeting April 27, 1944 respectfully request that you pardon the eighteen victims of the Smith 'Gag Act'."**

United Steelworkers of America Local 2601, Lackawanna, N. Y. sent a contribution to the CRDC and petitions signed by the membership of the union. Wilfred Baines, Recording Secretary wrote: "As Recording Secretary of Local 2601 I wish to express the sympathy felt by the membership toward the 18 frameup victims of the Minneapolis Trial. We hope that this petition will do some good in the fight to free them."

CONTRIBUTORS

Among the recent contributors to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is conducting a national campaign to free the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case and to fight for the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act, are UAW-CIO Local 212, Detroit, UAW-CIO Lincoln Local 900, Detroit, UAW-CIO Local 686, Lockport, N. Y., UAW-CIO Local 6, Melrose Park, Ill., Transportation Unit, UAW-CIO Local 600.

Boston CRDC

DINNER & MEETING

Wednesday, June 14

Speakers:

George Novack
National Secretary, CRDC

Prof. F. O. Matthiesen
Harvard University

Emily G. Balch
Founder Women's Trade Union League

Alfred Albert
Counsel, Mass. Civil Liberties Union

Dinner 75c — 7 P. M.
Meeting 25c — 8:15 P. M.

Charles St. Meeting House
Charles & Mount Vernon Sts.

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

The Liberal Party

The split in the N. Y. American Labor Party has become definitive with the launching of a new political party, designated as the Liberal Party, by the Dubinsky-Rose-Social Democratic clique. The Hillman-Stalinist combination won control of the ALP in an acrimonious primary fight distinguished by its lack of programmatic distinction between the contending factions as well as by its low political level and unprincipled scramble for clique control. When the results of the primary became known the losing Social Democratic faction "took a walk" and decided to set up house in an establishment of their own, free from the taint of "communism." Thus was the Liberal Party born!

The Liberal Party was conceived as a "fourth-term" party. Its central purpose is to rally the "liberal and labor" vote in support of the re-election of President Roosevelt. The adoption of a wishy-washy program of social reforms is not to be taken seriously as its endorsement of Roosevelt is unconditional. The political logic of such endorsement can only lead to acceptance of any program written by the political bosses who control the Democratic party—the program to which Roosevelt, as head of that party, will be committed in the election campaign. The only reason for the "independent" existence of the Liberal Party, as stated by its founders, is to forestall the "danger" that the American Labor Party, tainted as it is with Stalinism, will be unable to capture the liberal and labor vote. The Liberal Party is rushing into the breach to save New York State for Roosevelt!

The circle is completed! In the presidential campaign of 1936, the present founders of the Liberal Party, launched the American Labor Party for the express purpose of garnering the labor vote for Roosevelt. The two major parties had become so discredited that the labor lackeys rushed in to rally the workers to the support of Roosevelt under the banner of the ALP for fear that Tammany Hall, the graft and racket-ridden organization which controls the Democratic Party in New York, lacked sufficient appeal to attract liberal and labor votes. Since then, with the one exception when the ALP was literally forced to run an independent candidate, the labor bureaucrats in control of the organization entered into all kinds of shady deals with the corrupt political machines dominated by the Democratic and Republican bosses. The only discernible difference, after eight years in which Dubinsky and other labor fakers did everything possible to discredit the very idea of independent labor political action, is that they have now dropped the word "labor" from the name of their party!

CIO Political Action

In the short period of its work, the CIO Political Action Committee is acknowledged to have been largely instrumental in the defeat of several of the vicious reactionaries in Congress, such as Starnes, representative from Alabama and a former member of the Dies Committee, Costello, representative from California and the retirement from public life of the notorious Dies, representative from Texas.

This ability to organize the working class vote and defeat a few of the notorious labor foes in Congress simply demonstrates that the working man and woman is eager to participate in politics, is anxious for independent labor political action, is more than ready to participate in the building of an independent party of labor.

Unfortunately for labor, the PAC achievements are wholly negative. True, a few anti-labor demagogues have been defeated. But in favor of whom? Who were the men elected, on what program were they elected and whose interests do they serve? In the case of Texas and Alabama, the defeated Congressmen were replaced by two other poll-taxers. And even for these "victories" it was necessary for the PAC to participate in the primaries of the Democratic Party—the "lily white" party that represents the Southern bourbons and their interests.

Despite the fact that Hillman and Murray have decreed that the PAC must operate within the confines of the two-party system, the plutocrats are alarmed at the increasing aggressiveness of the movement, its mounting demands for more concessions and representation for labor, the unmistakable surge of the workers toward independent labor political action. They fear that the labor bureaucrats will not be able to restrain the movement within the arbitrary limits imposed and once it breaks through these restrictions, the movement will achieve a sweep that will end the political monopoly which Big Business exercises through its control of the Democratic and Republican parties.

If the CIO Political Action Committee, under the super-respectable, pro-capitalist leadership of the Murrays and Hillmans has put such fear and consternation into the hearts of the capitalists, one can easily appreciate that the organization of a genuine independent labor party, running its own candidates on a militant, constructive program would put an end to labor's retreat, would halt the onslaught of reaction and begin the forward march toward a new society of peace, freedom and prosperity.

U. S. Supreme Court

On May 15 the United States Supreme Court decided to review the case of 24 former officials of the German -American Bund, who, together with their national head, Gerhard William Kunze, had been convicted in a New York federal court for "conspiring to advise evasion and resistance to the Selective Service Act." This readiness of the supreme judicial body to safeguard the "constitutional rights" of avowed fascists stands in glaring contrast to its arbitrary and unprecedented refusal to review the case of the 18 Trotskyist class-war prisoners.

Three times the Supreme Court refused to review the famous Minneapolis case in which the convictions had been obtained under the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act, the constitutionality of which has been universally challenged. The Minneapolis case was the first instance under which this law, sponsored by poll-taxer Representative Howard W. Smith, had been invoked. Moreover, this law was the first peace-time measure since the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 that made mere advocacy of ideas a federal crime. If ever there were weighty legal grounds for review, it was in the Minneapolis case. But the same judges who now so readily accept routine reasons for reviewing the conviction of 24 Bundists, have thrice spurned out of hand the appeal in the case of the uncorruptible anti-fascist fighters.

The explanation for this brazen inconsistency in the conduct of the Supreme Court is to be found not in the intricacies of legalistic procedure but in the role of the courts as instruments of class justice. Fascists, whether of foreign or domestic variety, are the most rabid enemies of labor and the staunchest supporters of the capitalist system, and as such they are as a rule granted every consideration by capitalist authorities and tribunals. On the other hand, the opponents of capitalist greed and exploitation, the most unwavering fighters for socialism and labor's rights — above all, the Trotskyists — get short shrift from all the agencies of Big Business, including the courts.

To obtain even a semblance of justice under capitalism the organized labor movement must exercise utmost vigilance, and react vigorously to the slightest incursion on or violation of the workers' democratic rights. The Smith "Gag" Act is a vicious reactionary law. The railroading of the 18 under this law is a most sinister precedent. That is why it is the duty of every union militant and of the trade union movement as a whole to fight for the unconditional pardon of the 18 and for the immediate abrogation of the Smith "Gag" Law.

Workers Back Defense Of British Trotskyists

(Continued from page 1)

London Workers' Committee; Ted Grant, Revolutionary Communist Party; M. Kavanagh, Freedom Press; G. Pittock-Buss, Bob Turner, Arthur Ballard, D. Beech, D. Ballantine.

Resolutions from local unions and district union councils, protesting the arrest of the four Trotskyists and condemning Minister of Labor Bevin for using the Trade Disputes Act against them are pouring into the London headquarters of the defense committee. Among them is a resolution by the Trade Council at Slough, which calls upon the Trades Union Congress to initiate a national campaign for the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act and warning the Churchill-Bevin clique against further encroachments on the rights of the workers.

The Slough Engineering Trades Union passed a similar resolution, as also did the Methyr Vale Lodge, largest miners' lodge in South Wales. The Thornton Heath (London) branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, passed a similar resolution and donated five pounds towards the defense of the four. The Edmonton Trades Council sent one pound to the defense committee. The Glasgow District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union condemned the arrest of the four.

This is only the beginning. The British labor movement is thoroughly aroused. **When the four stand trial they will have the sympathy and backing of Britain's militant working-class which has clearly shown its intention to resist the reactionary attack of the British capitalists and their government.**

STALINIST FINKS

Sensing the militancy of the workers, observing the wide support which is being marshalled behind the persecuted Trotskyists, and because of the alarm and fear within their own ranks, the leaders of the British Stalinists have been compelled to offer an oblique, sham opposition to the new Defense Regulation 1-A (a), an extension of the Trade Disputes Act under which the Trotskyists are being persecuted. This regulation makes all strikes on "essential work" illegal and provides penalties for "inciters" of such strikes of five years imprisonment and or a fine of 500 pounds. It was promulgated by Labor Minister Bevin.

The Stalinists, through Lawyer D. N. Pritt, M.P.—who distinguished himself by defending Stalin's bloody purges only a few years ago—declared that the new regulation was "unnecessary" inasmuch as there already existed laws adequate for dealing with the Trotskyists. Speaking in the House of Commons, he urged the government to cut off paper supplies to the Trotskyists and thus prevent them from publishing their organ, the Socialist Appeal.

SLANDER CAMPAIGN

This action of the Stalinists is particularly foul in view of the fact that they were themselves, not long ago, the intended victims of such a step when the government sought to suppress the

ROY TEARSE

HEATON LEE

ANN KEEN

British Daily Worker by denying it supplies of rationed newsprint. The Trotskyists, although outright opponents of the Stalinist traitors to the working-class, were to the fore in defending the right of the Stalinists to publish their paper, seeing in the government attempt a reactionary stab directed against the entire labor movement.

The Stalinist traitors are now leading the campaign of slander against the arrested Trotskyists, but the campaign is beginning to boomerang. On one occasion the London Daily Worker carried a statement by J. R. Campbell, one of the Stalinist leaders, in which he sought to smear and defame one of the Trotskyist prisoners, Roy Tearse, who had been employed in one the machine-shops of the De Havilland aircraft plant.

Tearse's shop-mates promptly took up the challenge in a letter to the Daily Worker which the Stalinist rag did not print but which was published in the Socialist Appeal. It read:

FIRST TIME

"We, the undersigned, protest against the statement made by J. R. Campbell in the Daily Worker that Roy Tearse was a second-rate shop steward, but on the contrary have always found that he did his best to defend his fellow workers against the bosses. Although there were plenty of reasons for taking action, Tearse was never an 'agitator' for strikes."

The prosecution of the four Trotskyists under the Trade Disputes Act is the first time this law has been used since it was placed on the statute books after the great British general strike of 1926. It was enacted for the avowed purpose of hamstringing the labor movement and preventing another such strike eruption as that of 1926. The new Bevin Defense Regulation 1-AA is aimed at the moment at the revolutionary vanguard of the workers, the Trotskyists, but the masses of workers understand its reactionary implications for the labor movement as a whole. The defense of the persecuted Trotskyists thus becomes joined with, and part and parcel of, the great workers campaign against all the reactionary anti-labor legislation by means of which the British capitalists seek to hold the workers in check.

In the debate on the new Regulation in the House of Commons, Neil McLean, Labor M.P. for Govan, addressed the government benches to declare: "All you need do now is to put into the Regulation authority for a judge to transport people overseas to penal settlements and we shall be back to the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs. The Minister of Labor (Bevin) is one of those who took part in a demonstration to celebrate the place of the Tolpuddle martyrs in trade union history, but he is now taking part in throwing back the trade union movement."

TORY TOOL

Bevin, His Majesty's Minister of Labor in the Tory government of Winston Churchill, is today the chosen instrument of the British capitalists for spearheading the attack on the growingly militant working-class. **At the commencement of the present "war for democracy" Bevin wrote an article in the British Record and made speeches around the country, warning British trade unionists that the "appetite for compulsion" was growing and that unless they were vigilant the "shackles of a great tyranny" would be riveted on them. The warning proved true and attempts are being made to fasten these shackles on the British workers —by Bevin himself! When Bevin issued the warning, he was speaking as leader of the great British Transport and General Workers Union. He had not then become Minister of Labor in His Majesty's Tory government. Today he speaks openly as a tool of the British capitalists, enemy of the workers. Every class-conscious worker will ponder this evolution of a tame labor faker who decries the class struggle, his transformation from a trade union leader into an avowed servant of capitalism.**

International Notes

PUERTO RICO

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, following the example of the Stalinists in this country, has dissolved itself as a party, and according to its resolution as reported in the Daily Worker, will "promote the idea of creating an organization of a non-party character, which will be able to adopt Marxism as a guide to raise the political, cultural and civic level of the workers and all the people of Puerto Rico."

Puerto Rico is a colony of Wall Street imperialism and since the American Stalinists have now made their peace with Wall Street, the dissolution of the Puerto Rican C. P. is a logical, consistent step. While Browder and Company serve the big capitalist exploiters in this country, the Puerto Rican Stalinists will serve the same crew in the little Caribbean colony. **To be sure, the Puerto Rican Stalinists pay lip service to Marxism in order to fool their followers, just as Browder and Company do here. But the terribly exploited Puerto Ricans will not be fooled for long. Wall Street oppression is for them a very close reality. They will build a new revolutionary party to continue the struggle for freedom and independence which the Stalinists have so shamelessly deserted.**

COSTA RICA

Although nominally an independent country, the small Caribbean island of Costa Rica is nevertheless very much under the heel of Wall Street. Here the Communist Party was dissolved last year into the Vanguardia Popular Party. The newly-camouflaged Stalinist traitors then proceeded to court the Catholic Church, which is one of the big powers in the island.

At first, the Catholic bishopric refused to give approval to the new party, but according to a recent report in the **Daily Worker** the church has withdrawn its opposition upon express orders from the Vatican and the archbishop has written to Manuel Mora, Stalinist leader of Vanguardia Popular, stating that "those Catholics who so desire may become members of the new organization." Papal approval of any organization means but one thing: that the organization has become "safe" and "respectable," a defender of the system of capitalist exploitation, an enemy of the true interests of the masses. The Costa Ricans will soon find this out for themselves.

INDIA

Louis Fischer, an ardent supporter of the imperialist war, is disturbed by the leftward trend among millions of the fearfully-oppressed victims of British rule in India. He visited the country in the summer of 1942 and has been following events there since. In the latest issue of **Common Sense**, he writes:

"The tendency in India today is towards extremism and away from Gandhi's non-violence and Nehru's reasonableness. Bose, the prophet of violence, will affect India's political thinking even if he never gets much further than the Burma border. There is no doubt that Gandhi's influence has waned since he went to jail on August 9, 1942. In the storm that is raging in Indian minds and hearts, Indians find Gandhi's ideas too temperate and his methods too slow."

Subhas Chandra Bose (the "prophet of violence") is a former chairman of India's Congress Party who went over to the Japanese imperialists. He has established a "Provisional Government of India" in Singapore and has mustered an army composed of Indian soldiers taken prisoner by the Japanese in Malaya and Hongkong and Burma. He directs regular radio broadcasts to India, urging his fellow-countrymen to throw off the British yoke.

According to Fischer, Bose's propaganda is making considerable headway because more and more Indians are becoming convinced that the British imperialists will never peacefully relinquish their hold over India. They took note of Churchill's statement that he "did not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." They have noted, too, that the British labor fakers, as late as April 20, 1944, backed Churchill's policy when Arthur Greenwood and Emmanuel Shinwell stressed before the House of Commons "the resolve of the British people (read British imperialists) to keep the empire together after the war."

"So it is obvious," writes Fischer, "that India will not be given freedom." Of course, India will not be given freedom by the imperialists, whether British or Japanese. The Indian masses will win freedom not by backing one group of imperialists against another, but only in struggle against all the imperialists.

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Concentration Camps for Workers in Aleutians

Charges that American union men work under conditions of forced labor on the Aleutian Islands and are confined in Army concentration camps if they attempt to quit their jobs, are reported in the May 18 104 Reporter, organ of the AFL Boilermakers Seattle Local 104, which describes the personal experiences of its returning members.

"Quitting a job on the Islands automatically means that a worker will spend an indefinite length of time in a 'stockade' until the army grants him a release to leave. The army informed them this was due to lack of transportation facilities. But information received here shows the stockade also is used as a means of punishing men who leave their work on the islands."

Workers have been confined for as long as 60 days in a stockade before their release. One of the stockades was separated by barbed wire from the rest of the town.

104 Reporter claims that when the men applied for the Aleutian jobs, they were told they could quit whenever they desired, provided they paid their own boat fares back home. "But when they got to Alaska, they found the picture had changed somewhat."

One Local 104 member declared: "They deliberately use the threat of the stockade to keep men from quitting. And it works. There are plenty of men who keep on working for one reason only and that is the fear of the long days they must spend in that prison."

The paper reports that many of the returning workers spoke of the "arbitrary procedure . . . and irksome conditions imposed by the army," although they were employed by private contractors. Other unions, including the hoisting engineers and auto mechanics, have reported similar treatment of their members in Alaska and have already made formal protests, threatening to discontinue dispatching their members to Alaska if conditions are not changed for the better.

Bankhead Amendment to Boost Clothing Prices

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has approved the Bankhead Amendment to the Price Control Act, which, if approved by Congress, will add "$225,000,000 to $350,000,000 to U. S. A. consumers' annual bill for clothing and other textile products," according to Associate General Counsel Henry M. Harte of the OPA.

Textile manufacturers, who have increased their profits "only" ten times over the pre-war level, are behind the Bankhead Amendment. It is estimated this legislation would enable the textile capitalists to notch their profits up to 16 times the "normal" amount they were able to grab in the years of 1936-1939.

Under the proposed amendment, the present OPA method of fixing "reasonable" profits would be wiped out. Instead of the current over-all industry basis for fixing prices, the OPA would be required to establish price ceilings on cotton items separately for manufacturers, jobbers, wholesalers and retailers. The top-costs and "reasonable" profit margin for each group would be added in to determine the final "fair" price. The highest-cost producers would be used as the yardstick, and those who produce more efficiently and cheaply would be permitted to charge the top prices of the costliest producers.

This move of the Cotton and Textile Lobby is regarded as the opening phase of a general offensive to smash even the present feeble price controls now maintained by the OPA. If it is successful, every other industry will then begin a clamor for "preferential consideration" on price ceilings.

It seems there are two types of bills which will always win quick and favorable action from Congressional committees: 1) to put the squeeze on the workers, and 2) to guarantee bigger profits and privileges for the capitalists.

Trying to Get Out from Under the Poll Tax Issue

Congressmen and Senators of all political stripes have come to regard the perrenial poll-tax issue like a case of the seven years itch. Each year in the Senate there is a regular session of wriggling and scratching, but nothing is done to affect a permanent cure, like abolishing the poll tax which in eight southern states keeps 10,000,000 whites and Negroes disfranchised.

Apparently tired of making a public spectacle of themselves each year by their fantastic performance, Republican and Democratic Congressional forces have organized a movement which they hope will relieve Congress entirely of the responsibility for even discussing the embarrassing poll-tax issue, while at the same time ensuring the poll-tax system a long lease on life for the benefit of the "white supremacy" overlords of the South.

Launched by the Republicans, and finding support among such pillars of the Wall Street press as the N. Y. Times, a move is now afoot to divert the poll-tax question from the Congressional arena into the 48 state legislatures, through a proposed Constitutional amendment to abolish the poll-tax in federal elections.

The sponsors of the proposal assured themselves in advance that such an amendment would never be passed by the required three-fourths of the states. Thirteen Southern states alone are sufficient to block passage of the amendment indefinitely.

After a 20-years sojourn through the mazes of the 48 state legislatures, the child labor Amendment has still not been adopted. This gives an intimation of what would happen to the anti-poll tax law if it is ever made the subject of state actions.

Even the poll-taxers themselves might not be averse to getting behind such a proposal. It would save them a lot of breath in the Senate. It might even secure them the reputation of being really "democratic" at heart. It would forestall any further annoyance and frayed tempers among otherwise congenial Congressional politicos. And it would effectively bury the poll tax issue.